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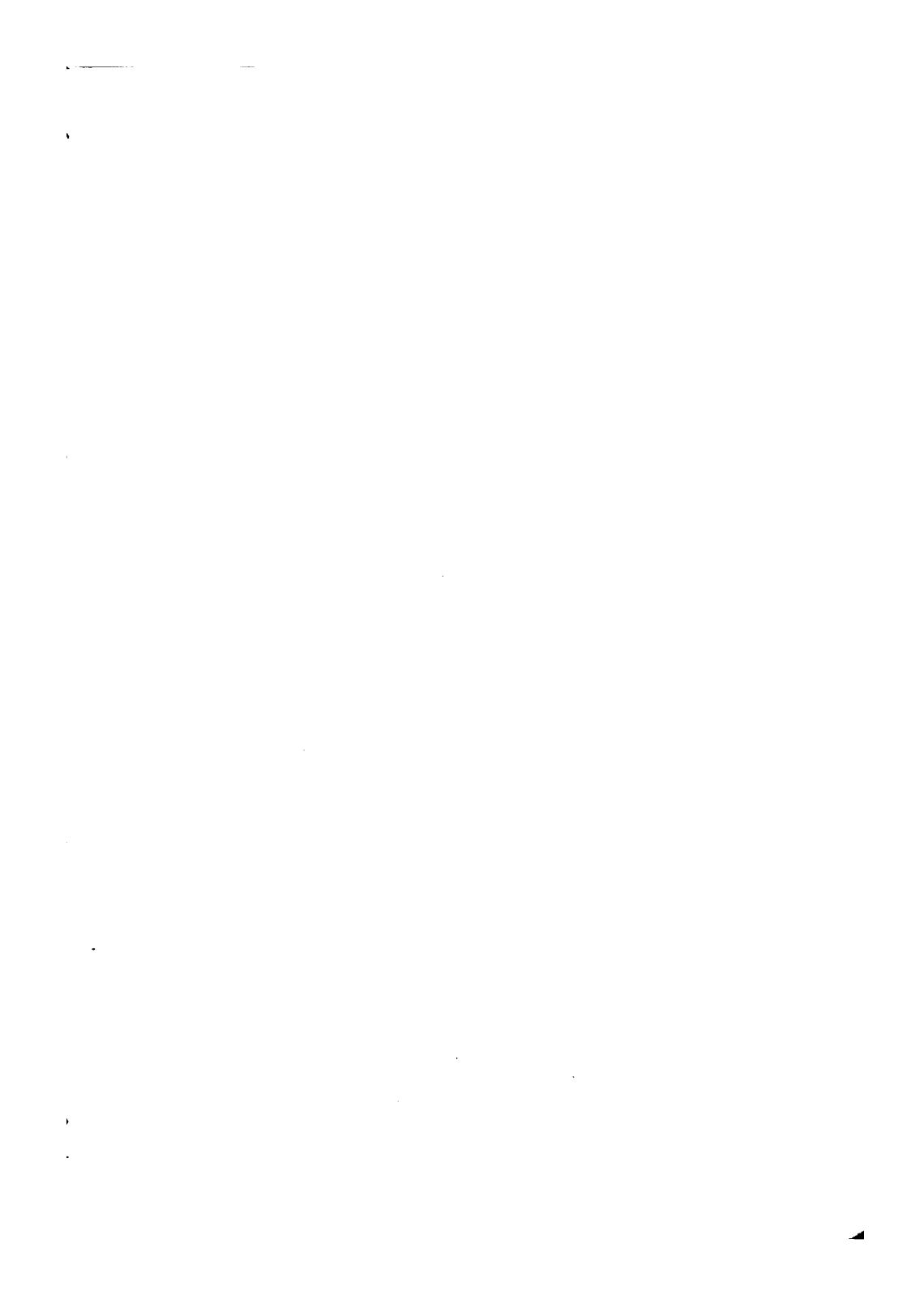
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ON THE

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EDNA D. BULLOCK

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

The subject of woman in industry has a great body of literature to which fresh material is constantly being added. The articles selected for reprinting in this Handbook are advisedly of a popular rather than a scientific or statistical nature. The space limitations are such that only a few phases of this important subject of research can be covered. For the latest authoritative and descriptive matter the report of the United States labor bureau on the Condition of woman and child wage-earners in the United States should be consulted. This report is to be contained in nineteen volumes, only eight of which are now (August, 1911) in print.

The bibliography is selected chiefly from recent publications and is sufficiently inclusive to cover the subject. It is arranged according to the following classification:—

General references.

Historical references.

Special occupations.

Special sections of the United States and other countries.

Industrial organizations, strikes, etc.

Legislation.

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SELECTED ARTICLES ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

No phase of the woman question presents a more imperative demand for solution than is found in the problems arising in connection with the employment of women. The age-long discussions have brought few satisfactory results. Inventions and the centralizing spirit of the age have removed many of the domestic arts from the home and driven women out into store and factory.

The effect of this departure from the natural inclination and destiny of woman is being studied by sociologists and economists. The general trend of feeling as facts are ascertained and systematized is that of profound alarm at the damage already done and the future menace of women's relations to organized industry.

Effect upon the Physical and Moral Nature of the Workers.

The question of child labor overlaps that of the employment of women at more than one point. Too many working women have been enslaved since early childhood. Stunted and inefficient bodies, undeveloped minds, dwarfed souls are the price society is paying for cheap products of industry.

Even if a girl enjoys the comforts of a good home until she arrives at legal industrial age, and can in other ways qualify for employment, the objections to our modern system are by no means removed, nor even substantially abated. No girl of eighteen can, without physical injury, sit or stand continuously in the most sanitary store, laundry or factory ten hours a day without risking her chance for future usefulness as a woman.

SELECTED ARTICLES

She is not securely and permanently established physiologically at that age. As a considerable proportion of women workers are under twenty years of age, it follows that an incalculable amount of physical injury is sustained by individual workers from the mere fact of constant sitting or constant standing and from constant attention to monotonous processes. The developing mind, quite as much as the developing body is dwarfed by monotony. Hence it comes that many women workers arrive at the age when they might with safety be employed in modern specialized industry, with depleted physical and mental resources.

When to the inherent objections already mentioned are added unsanitary conditions of places where women work, inconsiderate regulations under which work is done, long hours, wear and tear of attempting to exist on insufficient pay, and the temptations that are on every hand, it seems clear that modern industry has called woman from the incessant but natural and reasonably healthy activities of the home to her infinite physical and moral detriment as a woman.

Effect of the Employment of Women on Social Welfare.

Society is interested in woman chiefly as a wife and mother, only incidentally as an industrial factor. Sociologically there is no compensation for any arrangement of human affairs that makes women unfit to be good wives and mothers, or deprives homes of the presence of home makers. No amount of financial profit accruing to the stock holders of an industrial corporation is of vital importance to society if, in order to accumulate dividends, homes, women and children have to be sacrificed. Modern industry is charged with interference in the social welfare in all these respects. It is for the student to weigh the evidence and apportion the responsibility.

The modern demand for luxuries, ornament and other forms of wastefulness must bear some of the blame for the conditions of working women. Many of the objects for which there is a demand from people who cannot afford them, even at the low prices asked, are made at the sacrifice of life and health of women who live in city tenements, pay carfare for the privilege of standing in crowded cars, work eight or ten hours a day for

\$4.50 to \$5.50 a week and are able to secure this employment only a few months in each year. The unwillingness of the average American to live simply must bear some of the responsibility for modern conditions.

On the other hand it is recognized that for the many women who are not called to serve their day and generation as wives and mothers, there must be suitable employment. It is even becoming understood that many women, though wives and mothers, have brains that are better adapted to industrial and professional activity than to domestic service. It is to the interest of society to have industry so organized that each individual may use for at least a part of each day's work, the most efficient part of her brain.

For the many women who are forced to subordinate home making to the struggle for mere physical support for those within the home, society has evolved no satisfactory status.

Remedies for Present Conditions.

The remedial legislation has contented itself, for the most part, with shortening of hours, prohibition of certain employments to women, and factory inspection with reference to sanitation, safety and moral conditions. Charity stretches forth her hand a trifle more intelligently and humanely than in the middle ages. The day nursery is being substituted for the "little mother" here and there. The "little mother" in her turn is being given training that may enable her to secure better results on small means, and possibly in due time to remain in her own home as a home maker instead of going factoryward to eke out a miserable existence.

It is not impossible that the near future may see other and more effective methods of safe and sane employment for women, as well as of protection for wives and mothers. Nobody can argue that a motherless home is not a social menace. It is not an idle suggestion that society will find a way to keep mothers at home with their children as long as the children need them, and will bear the expense of so doing as the most economical method of producing a robust, efficient and moral citizenship.

SELECTED ARTICLES

Questions for Discussion.

The chief discussions with reference to the employment of women arise in connection with the hours of labor. The number of hours to which justice to the individual and a due regard for the welfare of society would limit a woman's labor varies with trades and conditions. The recent decision of the Illinois Supreme Court and the Oregon decision point to a further limitation of working women's hours. It is in order now to seriously discuss:—Shall an eight hour day be established for women in industry?

It is apparent that neglected children, if they survive, are still a physical and moral menace to society. It is questioned whether a mother with young children or a woman soon to become a mother should be permitted to work in any shop, store, factory, office or other business that would take her away from home to her physical detriment or the neglect of her children. It is a question whether married women should participate in industry outside of the home. The problem is:—Can society afford to maintain any system of industry that involves the physical, mental and moral neglect of children through the employment of girls and women? If not, what are the remedies for present conditions?

The rehabilitation of the servant problem brings up the question of the improvement of the conditions of domestic service. An eight hour day, with a separate domicile has been suggested. It is open to debate.

Edna D. Bullock.

DISCUSSION

American Journal of Sociology. 3: 183-205. September, 1897.

Factory Legislation for Women in the United States.

Annie Marion MacLean.

In order to understand the meaning of protective legislation it is necessary to look for a little at the beginnings of the factory system, the causes leading to the employment of women, and the conditions which brought about remedial enactments. In America the factory is essentially a product of the present century, although closely following in the wake of the Revolution, we see the first indications of the system. Previous to this time all industries except those purely domestic had been discouraged by the mother country. But for some time after the new nation commenced to think of entering into manufactures the people were at a decided disadvantage. They had no machinery, nor had they the means of making any. The English patents were carefully protected, and it was not until Samuel Slater came to America that fully equipped buildings were made possible here. He had been a worker for years and finally overseer in an English factory, and so knew the machinery thoroughly, plans of which he brought to this country in his head. It was owing to this that the process of manufacture was started in this country. A little later, about 1780, Tench Coxe, known as the "father of American industries," incorporated the "United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting Manufactures," and secured the first spinning jenny seen in America. In a short time he had four hundred women employed.

From the very beginnings of the factories we find women employed. In the colonial days they were hardly an economic factor at all. Their labor was chiefly confined to the house and farm. In addition to mere household duties they found time for much spinning and weaving. But near the close of this period they came to be employed in setting wire teeth in the cards used in preparing cotton for the wheel. This industry grew so rapidly

that by 1784 one factory alone employed about 1200 hands, mostly women and children. In many cases the women worked at setting teeth at home. From the earliest times the manufacture of clothing and household stuffs was carried on by the women in the homes, but not as a wage-earning business, however, as the materials produced were used largely in their own families. With the establishment of the cotton factories—the industry which developed first here—it is not strange that the work of the women should be in demand. Their home training had already made them adepts in the domestic arts of spinning and weaving, and so naturally they found their way from the kitchen wheel and loom to the large manufactories. Then, too, they were better fitted than men to do a great deal of the work connected with the new industry. Where dexterity of fingers was required, men were certainly less skillful. Later, economic reasons crept in and influenced the employer in his choice of sex, and caused the continually increasing number of women who are employed outside of the home.

Chiefly on account of the conditions surrounding women workers in England, there was strong opposition to their employment in America, but the inventions of the age opened the door, and the women were glad to enter in, as the money earned gave them added independence. From the first their work has been supplemental to, rather than competitive with, that of man.

Between the years 1815-1830 we may date the establishment of women wage-earners as a definite economic factor. And as the years have gone on the number of women workers has increased.

The building of factories once commenced, the work continued at a rapid rate. The first large factory with improved machinery was built at Pawtucket, R. I., in 1790. Another mill was erected in the same state in 1795, and two more in Massachusetts in 1802 and 1803. In the next three years ten were built in Rhode Island, and one in Connecticut. By the end of 1809 eighty-seven additional mills had been put up so that a great many were in operation in the opening years of the present century. From that time on the spread of the factory system has been abnormally rapid. It has gone hand in hand with the

development of the country's great resources. As early as 1813 we find in Waltham, Mass., the first factory in the world that combined under one roof every process of converting raw cotton into finished cloth. It will be noticed that here we have the birth of the great manufactories about the same time that agitation for remedial legislation was sweeping over England; an agitation which half a century later was to stir this country to the depths.

With the growth of the factory system came conditions which were a menace to the well being of the nation, but it was long before intelligent citizens could be led to see that brutal treatment of women and children together with long hours in unsanitary mills was a danger to the country. In the decade between 1830-1840 we have accounts of vile sanitary conditions, but the women themselves were powerless to effect changes for the better. Partly in consequence of this the mills began to be filled with a poorer order of workers. In three decades marked degeneration had taken place in the condition of the life of the operatives. At last public sympathy was aroused in their behalf, and efforts were made to make the life more endurable for women, as it is around them and the children that sympathy and legislation have always centered. But notwithstanding the increased hardships, the number of women operatives grew greatly.

This host of women engaged in manufactures opens up a great social and economic problem. Why are they so engaged? The answer is self-evident. Their work is necessary under existing arrangements. In Europe, four millions of women are engaged in factory labor, and economists say they could not possibly do without them. Whether this should be so or not is an open question, but the fact remains that in this country many thousands of women are slaving away at body-destroying work and oftentimes for soul-destroying wages.

The struggle for remedial legislation was a long one, and it was fought out first in Massachusetts, which seems natural as it was there that the American factory system had its birth. We may well study the history of the reform movement there.

As early as 1831-2 we find slight agitation, but no definite

action in respect to women was taken until 1874, when the "ten-hour law" was passed. By this the work of children under eighteen years, and of women was limited to sixty hours per week. Over thirty years prior (1842) the work of children under twelve years had been limited to ten hours per day, but it was not until 1874 that the state interfered with the work of adult women. The history of that enactment is suggestive and seems to throw light on subsequent legislation.

The year 1845 was marked by more vehement agitation than had before characterized the reformers. The legislature was flooded with petitions praying for a reduction of the eleven-hour day, which was the rule with corporations. But the legislators met this request with the same vapid arguments in use ever since. Nothing more was done until 1850, when a bill came before the house only to be defeated. Another attempt in 1852 was likewise unsuccessful.

In 1865 we find the appointment of an unpaid commission of five men to investigate in regard to the hours of labor in the factories. This marks the birth of bureaus of labor statistics now found in nearly all civilized countries. A few years later the Massachusetts bureau was formally established.

Legislation prevails in many of the manufacturing states, and right-thinking people everywhere cannot much longer refuse to hear the cry of woe coming up from the female workers who form so large and important a factor in the industrial world. Their very ignorance of their own danger should be an added incentive to action. While some states are wrangling over the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of protecting women workers from long and dreary hours of drudgery, those same workers, who know not how to protect themselves, are being rendered unfit for anything by excessive toil. The question as to why they are not able to protect themselves is not a very deep one. Its answer lies chiefly in the reason that they do not understand the meaning of organized effort. Until lately they have not been taught how to organize and it is little wonder that they themselves have not taken initiatory measures in that direction. After a hard day's work they are too weary of body and dull of mind to do aught but rest or under the influence of

stimulating excitement engage in some frivolous entertainment. Is it surprising that they have not risen to see the needs of organization, the lurking dangers of non-organization?

Factory inspectors, and those who have studied the question carefully, are unanimous in saying that the regulation of the hours of labor of women and children is productive of great good.

One result has been a more enlightened body of working women. This has its salutary effect on the home, though as a rule it is the single women who are fighting the industrial battle. The number of married women in factories in this country is not so great as is generally supposed. They form only about 10 per cent. of all women employed. The employment of mothers of young children is undoubtedly fruitful of much evil, and if possible it would be well that it should cease, but according to Taylor "it is not feasible by any isolated statutory order."

However, it is only a matter of time when all the manufacturing states will protect the health and morals of their operatives irrespective of sex. This may not come about by direct legislation, but improved public conscience will make it possible for the workers to refuse to work amid inhumane conditions. This is the end to be sought. The trades unions must be fostered; those must be taught the power of their united efforts.

Some points that will well bear enforcement upon the minds of women disposed to be helpful are as follows:

1. To encourage women in the various trades to protect their mutual interests by organization.

2. To use all possible means to enforce the existing laws relating to the protection of women and children in factories or shops, investigating all reported violations of such laws, and to promote by all suitable means further legislation in this direction.

In addition to the above may be cited as a basis for every society of working women the following principles formulated by Mrs. Florence Kelley, of Illinois, whose name has been mentioned several times before:

I. To bring out of the chaos of competition the order of coöperation.

- II. To organize all wage-earning women.
- III. To disseminate the literature of labor and coöperation.
- IV. To institute a label which shall enable the purchaser to discriminate in favor of goods produced under healthful conditions.
- V. 1. Abolition of child labor to the age of 16 years.
2. Compulsory education to the age of 16 years. 3. Prohibition of employment of minors more than eight hours a day.
4. Prohibition of employment of minors in dangerous occupations.
5. Appointment of women inspectors.
6. Healthful conditions of work for women and children.

All of the foregoing to be secured by legislation, while the two following points could be obtained by organized effort:

1. Equal pay for equal work with men.
2. A minimal rate which will enable the least paid to live upon her earnings.

Uniform legislation should be secured, particularly in regard to hours of labor, as then all states would be under the same conditions in respect to the amount of product. This point cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor reiterated too often.

But notwithstanding all drawbacks the condition of female operatives has improved greatly since protective legislation became an actual fact. However, it is as yet far from what it should be, and we are confronted by serious difficulties when making suggestions for improvement. The cry to "legislate," "legislate," is useless unless the public mind be saturated with the necessity of remedial action.

Reform of some kind is certainly feasible, though not through such schemes—as impossible as irrational—as are suggested by various sentimental philanthropists.

When one reads of factories like that in Ohio which paid women thirty-six cents per dozen shirts, and opened and closed the day with thanksgiving and prayer, one is tempted to give up striving and patiently await the millennium. We need a moral regeneration, not only of the employers, but of the employés as well. Justice should be the watchword of all. But good legislation, backed by intelligent administration, is the power we must look to to change the mere machine life of the average factory

woman to that of an intelligent worker; and faith in the United States and her institutions leads us to believe that an era of good is at hand when

"All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist,
Not its semblance but itself."

American Journal of Sociology. 11: 312-25. November, 1905.

Necessary Sequel of Child-Labor Laws. Josephine C. Goldmark.

Recent agitation against the abuses of child labor has been confined to the needs of children to the age of fourteen or at most sixteen years. This vital issue should not obscure the imperative need of relief from overwork of young girls above that age. For obvious reasons, girls between sixteen and twenty-one years stand in need of protective legislation, primarily a limitation upon their hours of labor. That women *as women* should have certain safeguards secured by law, that women need special legislation, is a proposition adopted and acted upon by all enlightened states. In view of the fact that practically one-half of the working-women in the United States (49.3 per cent. in 1900) are girls—young women under the age of twenty-five years—such special legislation is specially needed.

In the census of 1900 the section on "Occupations" shows very clearly in what direction the employment of women has been tending during the last twenty years. Two striking facts stand out vividly: (1) the increase in the percentage of working-women over the percentage of men between 1880 and 1900; (2) the large percentage of young women (sixteen to twenty years) in the total number of working-women, as compared with the small percentage of young men of the same ages in the total number of working-men.

In 1880 the percentage distribution *by sex* of all persons engaged in gainful occupations was: working-men, 84.8 working-women, 15.2. By 1900 this ratio had changed as follows: working-men, 81.8; working-women, 18.2—an increase of 3 per cent. of women workers, with a corresponding decrease of 3 per cent. of men workers.

In every geographic division, and in every state and territory except three, females formed an increased proportion from 1890 to 1900 of the total number of persons gainfully employed, and in the three states excepted—Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana—the proportion remained practically stationary.

To illustrate the increase in the percentage of working-women over working-men in particular industries, the figures given for manufacture and trade are of striking interest: In 1880 the percentage of working-men in manufacture was 83.8; by 1900 this figure had sunk to 81.5. The percentage of working-women in manufacture, on the contrary, rose from 16.7 in 1880 to 18.5 in 1900.

In trade and transportation—a division of industry including the employment of women as “stenographers, typewriters, telegraph and telephone operators, bookkeepers, clerks, and sales-women”—the percentage of women rose from 3.4 in 1880 to the surprising figure of 10.5 in 1900; while the percentage of men sank from 96.6 to 89.5 in the same twenty years.

Thus the rapid increase in the number of working-women, and the rate at which they are gaining upon men, comparatively, in the industries that call for the labor of women, warrant a careful study of the results of such employment, and of the status of the working-woman before the law, in the various states, as a means of obtaining more adequate protection.

The enormous proportion of young girls among “working-women” will be dealt with below.

Legislation for working-men has been most advanced in the western mining states. The eight-hour day is no longer an ideal, but has been obtained as a legal maximum for all laborers in mines in Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming. Eighteen states, both east and west, restrict to an eight-hour day all work contracted for by the state.

If it is recognized as desirable that men should not be obliged to work more than eight hours in a day in certain industries, the work of women should, without question, be limited to that maximum. If a working-day of ten, twelve, or fourteen hours reduces a man to the level of a mere machine, it leaves a woman in a more unhappy plight—in imminent danger of physical breakdown.

The new strain in industry.—From the point of view of health, two particular hardships exist for the woman worker: the extreme length of the working-day and the requirement of night work. The former is the more widespread evil, and directly affects the larger number.

The industries of today differ most markedly from those of the past in the relentless speed which they require. This speed is acquired in various ways: by mechanical devices which "speed up" the individual machines; by increasing the number of machines attended by each worker; by the specialization which trains a worker to one detail of production year after year; and by other methods.

To trace this undeniable evolution of the different industries employing women does not fall within the scope of this article. That the increase in speed affects all manufacture has been considered at once a national distinction and a superiority. It is as marked in the lowest depths of sweat-shop labor as in the most advanced New England mills, where the eight looms per worker, normal a few years ago, have increased to twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen looms per worker.

One of the most conspicuous examples of trades which have vastly increased their output during the last few years—and an example most pertinent to the discussion of women's employment—is the stitched-underwear trade. A brief description of this industry may illustrate the conditions under which a large and rapidly increasing class of young girls are employed. The machines have been so improved that they set twice as many stitches as they did five years ago, the best machines, driven by dynamo power, now setting 4,400 stitches a minute.

The operative cannot see the needle; she sees merely a beam of light striking the steel needle from the electric lamp above her head. But this she must watch, as a cat watches a mousehole; for one variation means that a broken needle is cutting the fibers of the garment, and a different variation means that the thread is broken and the seam is having stitches left unsewn. Then the operative must instantly touch a button and stop the machine. Such intent watching wears out alike nerves and eyes.

The result of speed so greatly increased tends inevitably to nervous exhaustion. Machines may be revolved more and more swiftly, but the endurance of the girl workers remains the

same. No increase in vitality responds to the heightened pressure. A constant drain of nervous energy follows—particularly deplorable in the case of young women, whether they are to marry after a few years of overstrain, or to continue through longer years of such employment.

Larger proportion of young workers.—In the ages of the workers the difference between working-men and working-women is most marked. The largest percentage of men engaged in gainful occupations are adults in the prime of their strength, between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four years. The largest percentage of working-women are between sixteen and twenty years of age—a fact which indicates more clearly than all comments how immature, how helpless, and how dependent upon the beneficence of employers is this rapidly growing body of wage-earners.

The enormous proportion of young girls in certain branches of manufacture is brought out in the following statements: In silk-mills, for instance, the percentage of young men (between sixteen and twenty years) is less than one-third of the older men over twenty-one years. Young girls are employed in such large numbers that the percentage of those between sixteen and twenty years is *the same* as that of all the women over twenty-one.

Young men between 16 and 20 years.....	8.8
Men over 21 years.....	26.8
Young girls between 16 and 20 years.....	24.2
Women over 21 years.....	24.4

So, too, in knitting and hosiery mills the percentage of young men is small—only one-half of the older men. The percentage of young girls is again practically the same as that of the older women:

Young girls between 16 and 20.....	29.1
Women over 21.....	30.1

This high proportion of young girls is found in almost all branches of manufacture in which women are employed. The advancing army of “working-women” continues to be recruited from the ranks of growing girls, as the older women marry and retire from wage-earning.

The length of the working-day.—Obviously it is impracticable, if it were desirable, to retard the industrial pace. Ma-

chines once speeded or duplicated will not be slowed or simplified to save the workers, young or old. A different and entirely feasible plan is to lessen the daily hours of application to work so insidiously exhausting. In proportion to the increased velocity of the machines, and the greater strain of attention, justice and the barest economy of strength would suggest a shortened work-day. Night work for women and young girls should be entirely eliminated.

Women in stores.—The shortened workday is as greatly needed by the employees of mercantile establishments as it is by factory workers. The increased activity of the modern department store, with its long hours of standing, especially at the rush seasons, adds to the strain of such employment, as the improved machinery does to the modern factory. Moreover, the very general legal provision requiring seats for employees is most difficult to enforce. The existence of the seats is easily secured; liberty to use them may as easily be denied. The comparative leisure for their use is at best short; but the curtailed working-day, such as the best shops now approximate, would be a definite and enforceable protection.

Sweat-shops.—As the agitation against child-labor has brought to light numbers of child workers until recently ignored by any protecting legislation (the little newsboys, the peddlers, the lads in the messenger service, and other street workers), so a renewed interest in legislation for women reveals the army of nondescript women workers unprotected by any law. The thousands upon thousands of women in the tenements of large cities who carry on tenement industries—who sew by hand or on foot-power machines, who make every variety of women's wear from the coarsest to the finest, and every variety of article from paper bags to umbrellas and cigarettes—continue to labor for hours limited only by the extreme of physical endurance. Not until tenement work is totally prohibited will these workers be freed from the intolerable conditions of pauper employment in the home: unlimited hours, a bare minimum of pay, and the wreck of all the decencies of home life.

Prohibited trades.—Certain industries have already been closed to women by law in the United States, but these prohibi-

tions are few and sporadic, enacted in obedience to certain local interests rather than to any broad theories of fitness.

The employment of women in mines is forbidden in most of the states. The employment of women in bar-rooms, such as is customary in England, is contrary to public opinion in America, and consequently is prohibited by many states. Seven states have enacted laws against the employment of women in the trade of buffing and polishing metals, and several do not allow young girls to be engaged as public messengers. The elaborate regulations of dangerous trades enacted in England and on the continent for both adults and children find no parallel in the United States. The injurious effects of employments involving the use of poisons, acids, gases, atmospheric extremes, or other dangerous processes, still await adequate investigation and legislation in this country.

Other trades.—Of more immediate concern are the great numbers of women who, young and unorganized, so insufficiently guarded by the law, work at the ordinary industries. The census figures, confirming the statements of all careful observers, have borne witness to the rate at which this body of young wage-earners is increasing in different trades. It answers the demand for labor, not only in the vast number of factories and stores, but in many other fields of industry. The telegraph and telephone service—a service which strains to the utmost the operator's nervous energy—requires every year a larger number of employees. In every state many young girls are employed in laundries and bakeries, where the work is of a peculiarly tiring order, involving hours of standing, the lifting of heavy weights, and the breathing of overheated or overhumid air. Many others are found in the exacting service of the restaurant, with its long and irregular hours; or at the flower- and book-stands of railway stations the country over. There are also large numbers of older women, employed at coarser work for unlimited hours, such as those who scrub and clean offices and public buildings.

Labor legislation for women.—Protection ampler and more far-reaching than exists, enacted under the police powers of the state, is now claimed for women as necessary for health and safety. All the arguments which apply in favor of the restriction

of the hours of working-men apply with a hundred-fold power to the restriction of women's hours of labor. Their youth, their helplessness, their increasing numbers, the conditions under which they are employed, all call for uniform and enforceable statutes in their behalf. Eight hours were deemed by the Supreme Court a "reasonable" period for men's employment in an industry liable to injure the health. Eight hours cannot be called an unreasonable period for the young girls who constitute so large a proportion of the army of working-women.

To obtain this restriction will require a campaign of education. The National Consumers' League is asking co-operation for this next great step in protective legislation from the General Federation of Women's Clubs, an organization whose wide influence has done much to secure the gradually improving child-labor laws of the nation.

There is needed, first, the co-operation and sympathy of all who have at heart the welfare of the industrial state. "The whole is no greater than the sum of all the parts, and when the individual health, safety, and welfare are sacrificed or neglected, the state must suffer."

American Journal of Sociology. 14: 740-52. May, 1909.

How Does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React Upon the Family? U. G. Weatherly.

Although economists have discarded the classical distinction between productive and unproductive labor, it is not uncommon still to hear work that results in the creation of no tangible wealth referred to as unproductive. In the census schedules housewives not otherwise employed are classed as n. g., "not gainful." So persistent is this fallacy that Professor Smart has thought it worth while to enumerate some of those forms of income which escape assessment and which are not measurable in money, and to point out the ways in which they actually augment the social income. Among these he reckons as "the greatest unpaid service of all" the work of women in the household. With an enthusiasm unusual in an economist he urges that this

service does not merely save the cost of servants' wages, but that it produces results which wage-paid labor could not possibly achieve.

Recent studies in biology indicate that race efficiency evolves in proportion to the differentiation between the sexes. Among the lowest orders of men, as also among the peasantry of European states, male and female are strikingly similar in physique and dress, and the character of their labor does not materially differ. Even though it has been true since the crudest stages of culture that some distinction in labor functions was observed, industry itself in the earliest periods was so simple in character as to leave little room for separation. In the patriarchal family group there arose a more definite division of labor by which certain functions were set aside as women's work. The primitive agricultural family group, of which pioneer American households are a survival, assigned to the wife's care those arts which were necessarily centered about the house, poultry-raising, gardening, weaving, soap-making. This differentiation is to be explained, in general, on the theory of diverse capacities based on fundamental sex difference. Professor Thomas believes that the greater motor activity of the male and the natural fixity and conservatism of the female account for the whole history of the division of labor on sex lines. "With respect to labor," says Aristotle's *Economics*, "the one sex is by nature capable of attending to domestic duties, but weak in duties out of doors; the other is ill-adapted to works where repose is necessary, but able to perform those which demand exercise." While productive processes remained simple this differentiation of functions generally involved nothing more than setting off to each sex definite parts of the same task. To the roaming, active male the share was the procuring of such materials for consumption as could be gotten only through aggressive effort afield. To the female fell work of a more sedentary character, chiefly that which was immediately connected with consumption. Of very high antiquity, therefore, is the habit, much exploited by recent humorists, of referring to the male head of the family as the "producer" or the "provider." Aristotle again, who certainly was not a humorist, declares

that "man is adapted to provide things abroad, while woman's work is to preserve things at home."

Two coincident changes have, within the past two centuries, profoundly affected the economic relations of the family. One is the concentration and specialization of industry following the industrial revolution, and the other is the shift from a predominantly rural and agricultural to a predominantly urban type of life. As the most conservative of social units, the family has but slowly adjusted itself to these changes. The home-production economy has been gradually supplanted by the money economy. Instead of being made in the home, nearly all consumption goods in the city, and an increasing portion of them in the country, are produced in specialized industries and purchased with money.

In pointing out the extent and consequences of these changes Miss Heather-Bigg says:

People who assert glibly that wives in the past had enough to do looking after their homes seldom realize what looking after the house meant one hundred and fifty years ago. It meant chopping wood, fetching water, baking bread, spinning flax, weaving, knitting, pickling, curing, churning, preserving, washing. But now water is laid on into the house, bread is bought at the baker's, it is cheaper to buy garments than to make them, wood and coal are brought round to the door in carts, and jam and pickles and bacon are all to be had from the general shop. So that now, for dwellers in big cities at any rate, "looking after the house" means only cleaning, cooking, washing, mending; care of children being the same in both cases. Even washing is ceasing to be the essentially domestic occupation it used to be, many women finding it more profitable to work at some trade in their homes and to give their washing out to a poorer neighbor to be done in municipal wash-houses or in the places set apart for washing in the model buildings.

Historically this is only the latest of a series of industrial transformations which have affected female labor. Very early in this series women relinquished agriculture to man, as she is now surrendering to the factory those handicrafts which she then retained as her peculiar care. She would now cease to be economically functional were there not open to her some alternative sphere of activity. She might, where means permit, give herself up to the cultivation of her finer personal and social graces, and, frankly accepting the position of a parasite, become wholly dependent on man for material support. By means of specialized domestic service, housekeepers, nurses,

governesses, she might even be freed from the burdens of home management. Among portions of the so-called upper classes this is the actual situation. Or she might, by more intensive devotion to purely domestic and maternal duties, find in these full play for her powers, even though the training of children has been partially socialized through such agencies as the school and the Sunday school. With the typical bourgeois family this is a not uncommon solution of the problem. In justification of it may be urged the unquestioned fact that home-making and the careful nurture of children are functions so vital that they are worth whatever they cost to society. Another alternative is woman's entrance into the new productive processes as a wage-worker, contributing to the family income her proper share in money earned in work at home for the market or in the workshop for the market. In this class the question is not whether women shall work, for they have always worked. It is rather a question of the conditions under which their wealth-creation shall proceed. Specifically it is a question not of work but of wage-earning.

Insofar as it reacts on the structure of the family, two phases of the problem are to be clearly distinguished. One has to do with the class who work because they must, the other is connected with the status of those who work or who might work because they choose to be occupied rather than idle. Accepting as valid the logical deductions from census figures, the increase of female bread-winners in the United States is one of the most striking phenomena of recent decades. Growth in the numbers of gainfully employed females has outstripped the increase both of male workers and of total female population. In 1900 one out of five of all females over ten years of age were in gainful pursuits, and between 1870 and 1900 the number more than doubled. In Massachusetts 22 out of every 100 females were employed in 1870, as against 27 out of every 100 in 1900, and, while in the same period male workers increased 95 per cent., employed females increased 156 per cent. In the country as a whole the increase of employed women between 1890 and 1900 was 33 per cent., that of males 23 per cent. Although this growth has accom-

panied the rapid development of the great industries in general, it is worthy of note that it has been most pronounced in those occupations which particularly appeal to the more intelligent and ambitious. The proportion in the textile trades has not kept pace with that which is employed in clerical and mercantile branches. In domestic and personal service also, once the leading field of female wage-earning, the increase in the last decade was only 38 per cent., while that in trade and transportation was 120 per cent.

Of unmarried women of native American stock a smaller proportion are employed than among the children of the foreign-born. They undoubtedly contribute relatively less than do the foreign-born directly to the general family treasury, and are therefore the less to be reckoned as a factor in the economy of the family. Their earnings go either toward their own necessary support or toward providing for themselves comforts or luxuries not otherwise obtainable. Frequently, too, their wages provide the outfit for their own marriage or for future housekeeping. As an industrial class they are exceptionally weak, because the hope or definite expectation of marriage interferes with effective wage-bargaining. Of them it is particularly true that "the permanency of women in industry is as a class and not as an individual."

Numerically the young unmarried predominate overwhelmingly. In 1900, 85 per cent. of the female workers were single, and 44 per cent., were between sixteen and twenty-four years of age. How far employment has operated to lower the marriage rate, to increase divorce, or to advance the age of marriage cannot, of course, be clearly determined, owing to the presence of other causes for these phenomena. The average age of marriage in Massachusetts increased from 23.4 in 1872 to 24.6 in 1901, and the rate declined from 23.4 per 1,000 in 1851 to 17.3 per 1,000 in 1901. In Massachusetts as in England the marriage-rate is generally found to be lower in districts where much female labor is employed. But on the other hand it is probably true that wage-earning, by developing a sense of pride and independence, saves women from the single alternative of marriage or dependence. It is also to be

noted that young women employed in the skilled trades under good conditions are the less disposed to surrender their independence to men who are likely to be willing to live in idleness, supported by the wages of working wives, just as married women capable of earning a living are under similar conditions more ready to resort to the divorce courts.

Equally weak and subject to exploitation is the class of married women whose elusive position in industry makes organization impossible. The very fact that a married women must seek employment is construed as a confession of economic stress. Furthermore, members of this class find it difficult to escape the suspicion that their labor is only incidental, home and family remaining the fundamental considerations. A noticeable proportion of those classed as bread-winners do not leave the home at all to do their work, and the fact that they do not visibly belong to the industrial army weakens the front that they might otherwise present in the struggle for a living wage. In bargaining with women workers the average employer assumes that he may safely ignore their necessary cost of living, because in general this cost is lower than that of men, and in the case of married women or widows it is calculated that the wages received are merely supplementary to the husband's income or to charitable relief.

Postponement of marriage may be in itself a less serious evil than the fact that employment in highly specialized factory or mercantile work weakens the taste and capacity for domestic management, where it does not breed a positive dislike for it. Employment in domestic service in good families, formerly almost the sole opportunity for female wage-earning, furnished an apprenticeship in housekeeping that stands in marked contrast to the work of girls today in textile mills, offices, or department stores. The study of conditions in Birmingham by Cadbury, Matheson, and Shann shows to what an extent slack conditions in the homes of employed women react on the unsteadiness and delinquency of husbands. The proportion of sober and steady men is nearly twice as great in families where the wives do not work as in homes presided over by employed women. While it cannot, of course,

be assumed that all delinquent husbands have been demoralized by abnormal home conditions, the conviction of such causal relation is the natural and logical one.

The family, not the state, must in the end determine the quality of population as it undeniably determines the quantity. It is in relation to childhood that the disorganizing effects of female labor are most clearly discernible. Sir John Simon showed fifty years ago that in certain English districts where women were largely employed outside the home infant mortality was from two to three times as great as in the standard districts. Whenever from any cause industry ceases in a district, as it did during the siege of Paris or during the periodical cotton famines in England, the death-rate of infants declines, while, the general death-rate increases, because mothers are then compelled to nurse their children. Manufacturing towns show a variation in infant death-rates so closely correlated with the number of employed married women as to leave little doubt about the cause and effect relation. English and Continental medical authorities are agreed as to the disastrous results of the employment of mothers outside the home soon after confinement, and regulative legislation has been passed in all the progressive European states. Cared for by older children or by friends, fed on unwholesome nourishment, dosed with narcotics, receiving only the fag-end of the mother's strength, children who outlive such an infancy have surely proved their fitness to survive. Day nurseries or philanthropies like the French Society for Nursing Mothers may minimize these evils for the relatively small numbers for whom their services are available, but at best they are only make-shifts, and are poor substitutes for the close individual care upon which alone childhood can thrive.

Acceptance of the "lump of labor" theory involves the recognition of a sort of Gresham's law of labor, according to which cheap female labor would drive men out of industry. This fallacy is partially responsible for the attitude of labor organizations toward the employment of women. But that there is much real supplanting of men by women may well be doubted. Mrs. Webb believes that if it exists at all in England it is only "to an

infinitesimal extent." The apparent transformation is attributable rather to necessary readjustment than to substitution. The transfer of so large a proportion of work from home to factory has objectified woman's share in the total output without materially increasing it. But even if it could be proved that she is a successful rival to man in getting labor away from him, woman remains an inferior bargainer for wages. Some of this inferiority is only apparent, explainable on the ground of smaller productivity, but there are numerous instances of smaller wages for equivalent work. This condition of women workers is due to a certain amateurishness inseparable from the sense of their impermanence, and to the absence of the technique of an industrial class. Mrs. Webb asserts that the real foe of the working woman is not the skilled male artisan, but the half-hearted female amateur who "blacklegs both the workshop and the home." Examples are not lacking to prove that in districts where female and child-labor abounds the wages of men are lower than in similar trades elsewhere. Additional labor, with the consequent derangement of the home, thus brings, under these conditions, no amelioration of the standard of living, since the combined family income will little surpass that which the man alone must receive were he the sole bread-winner. Alleviation of this situation does not necessarily demand the abstention of women from industry, but it calls for such organization and intelligent application as shall enforce a wage that will really augment the family income.

So real and so patent have been the evils incident to the employment of those women who work because they must that attention has been deflected from the unwholesome idleness of those who are not compelled to seek occupation. The pathological aspects of idleness are perhaps less dramatic because more recondite. In his *Subjection of Women* Mill deplores the dull and hopeless life of women devoid of occupational interest. The void created by shifting the incidence of industry from home to workshop has, for certain classes of women, not been filled by any compensating life-interest. Under existing conditions maternity does not in itself constitute a vocation for all womankind. When mere number of population has ceased to be the final

desideratum, when the family name and the perpetuation of particular stocks is no longer a fetish, the mere bearing and rearing of offspring need not monopolize the energy of one-half the human race. No other achievement of civilization can compare with that which substitutes an economical method of reproduction for the wasteful process of savagery. The prolongation of infancy and the elaboration of child-care that accompany advancing culture may reabsorb part of the energy thus released, but not all.

The problem of a supplementary occupational interest arising from this release, like that arising from the revolution in the industrial order, has called forth three types of solution and experiment. One wholly absolves women from the narrow slavery of sex and opens to her all the social activities of the male, full share. Another recognizes her emancipation from the oriental thraldom to reproductive functions, but seeks to so exalt the maternal and domestic functions as to make of them a social service worthy to be accepted, even under the new conditions of child-rearing, as woman's sufficient contribution to the state. A third accepts motherhood as a necessary service which, however, is to be supplemented by participation in specific production outside the home.

One of the tragedies of contemporary society is the woman who, through lack of an adequate occupational interest, is chronically sickly and inefficient. Her usual abilities ferment and decay. A source of personal discomfort to herself, this lack of self-realization is a loss to society by just so much as her latent talents fail of profitable employment or are turned to unwholesome ends. A prominent physician of Boston recently voiced the verdict of the medical profession when he declared that one-half of all the nervous people (chiefly women) who come to him are suffering for want of an outlet. "They have," he continues, "been going at half-pressure, on half steam, with a fund of energy lying dormant." Much of the marital unrest of the period is traceable to this absence of serious occupational interest among married women of the prosperous classes. Social disquietude, unwholesome forms of recreation, nervous break-down that results from overexertion in specious and profitless forms of

activity, are the natural corollaries of an unrealized instinct of workmanship. Moreover, the deadening of latent powers in the unmarried through the absence of that individualization which can be realized only in the discipline of occupation is to be reckoned among the causes of the unfitness for service which characterizes so large a portion of young women.

Western civilization has imperfectly outgrown the ideal of the seclusion of women inherited from the older Orient. Missing the stimulus of a free career open to her talents, woman enters in only a half-hearted way into such trades and professions as will tolerate her presence. Yet there are certain branches of activity which are peculiarly adapted to women, and into which they have already entered in numbers. When the process of industrial readjustment shall have more clearly shaped itself, it is likely that some occupations will again be definitely set aside for women and conditions therein adjusted to their peculiar needs. Without predicating the ultimate regimentation of industrial society, it is possible to conceive of a socially regulated division of labor which, while allowing a specialization of domestic service chiefly in the hands of women, shall also provide for outside occupations suitable to their capacities. This would employ in the home the whole time of some women and part of the time of others. It would remove from the home into specialized work-places much of the labor that is still retained in the household. Child-bearing would be accredited as a part of woman's work for society, demanding the fullest exemptions and safeguards. These might in some cases justify pensions for motherhood. They might require that society go farther than Jevons insisted thirty years ago, when he advocated "the ultimate complete exclusion of mothers of children under three years of age from factories and workshops.

Vital as is the consideration that workers should, as Mill puts it, "relish their habitual pursuits," freedom of choice of occupation is of no less moment in maximizing social production. Both the ideas and the conditions that have been and are still dominant limit woman to a narrow range outside of domestic interests. In case she aspire to make a career for herself, she has to face social disapprobation on the one side and the surrender of whatever

maternal instinct she may possess on the other. Child-bearing is not, under prevailing conditions, easily compatible with a "career," and yet it is both possible and desirable that a woman should, if she so desire, combine the two. The emancipation of woman, so far as it is related to the economic situation, does not necessarily involve the whole problem of women's rights as such. It need only recognize the right of the woman, whether wife or daughter, to make her contribution to the family resources in whatever manner may best suit her tastes and aptitudes. It necessitates only such a remodeling of the family economy as shall substitute co-operation for dependence. Whether she use a churn at home or work in a dairy for wages, whether she do the family washing or find employment in a laundry, her participation in production is equally valid and her contribution to the social wealth equally real.

But, granting that such larger liberty of choice is desirable, there remains the ultimate fact that the preponderant mass of women will continue domestic in taste, and for them the home will still be the center of activity. The "three generations of unmarried women" which an English reformer demands in order to produce a class who shall be emancipated from antiquated traditions of the family and who shall develop an industrial solidarity will, for obvious reasons, hardly appear. It is the woman of domestic tastes who marries and endlessly transmits her characteristics. The sexless woman, the woman whose distinctive trait is an egoistic ambition for self-determination as an independent unit rather than in the family group, may appear more and more numerously in each generation but her class is not likely to become predominant. Her type is increasingly recruited through imitation as her position becomes more tolerable, but her characteristic trait is an acquired one, and in this department of society, at least, imitation must in the long run prove less potent than heredity.

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Woman and the Occupations. W. I. Thomas.

But the question of woman's work is no longer one of sentiment alone. Under our individualistic and competitive industrial system men are no longer able to keep their women or even their children at home. Both Mr. Booth and Mr. Rountree, estimate that out of a population of 40,000,000 in Great Britain, 12,000,000 are either under or on the poverty line. The women and even the children are forced to work, because the present organization of society is no longer able to feed them. And just here transpires one of the saddest chapters in human history. The machine which man invented to relieve him of labor and to produce value more rapidly has led to the factory system of industry, and the women and children are forced to follow the work to the factory. The machine is a wonderful expression of man's ingenuity, of his effort to create an artificial workman, to whom no wages have to be paid, but it falls just short of human intelligence. It has no discriminative judgment, no control of the work as a whole. It can only finish the work handed out to it, but it does this with super-human energy. The manufacturer has, then, to purchase enough intelligence to supplement the machine, and he secures as low a grade of this as the nature of the machine will permit. The child, the immigrant and the woman are frequently adequate to furnish that oversight and judgment necessary to supplement the activity of the machine, and the more ignorant and necessitous the human being the more the profit to the industry. But now comes the ironical and pitiful part. The machine which was invented to save human energy, and which is so great a boon when the individual controls it, is a terrible thing when it controls the individual. Power-driven, it has almost no limit to its speed, and no limit whatever to its endurance, and it has no nerves. When, therefore, under the pressure of business competition the machine is speeded up and the girl operating it is speeded up to its pace, we have finally a situation in which the machine destroys the worker.

Mrs. Kelley says of the sewing trade: "In the best factories the speed of the sewing-machines has been increased so that

they set, in 1905, twice as many stitches in a minute as they did in 1899. Machines which formerly carried one needle now carry from two to ten, sewing parallel seams. . . . Thus a girl using one of these machines is now responsible for twice as many stitches at the least and for twenty times as many at the most as in 1899. Some girls are not capable of the sustained speed involved in this improvement, and are no longer eligible for this occupation. Those who continue in the trade are required to feed twice as many garments to the machine as were required five years ago. The strain upon their eyes is however, far more than twice what it was before the improvement. In the case of machines carrying multiple needles this is obvious; but it is true of the single needle machines also. It is the duty of the operator to watch the needle so intently as to discern the irregularity caused by a broken thread or broken needle, and to stop the machinery by pressing an electric button before any threads are cut by the broken needle or any stitches of the seam are omitted because of the broken thread. Now when the machine was 2,200 stitches a minute, as was the case in 1899, the writer, whose eyes are unusually keen, could see the needle when the machine was in motion. At the present speed the writer, whose eyes have remained unimpaired, is wholly unable to see the needle, discerning merely the steady gleam of light where it is in motion. To meet this difficulty . . . it is now the custom to suspend an electric light directly above the machine, so that a ray strikes the needle. The strain upon the eyes of the operators is almost intolerable, and a further winnowing out of the women eligible for this occupation follows." When a girl cannot keep the pace she is thrown out. The manufacturer cannot afford to keep a girl at a costly machine when the machine is not producing at a maximum rate. This would be to have a part of his plant lying idle. The manufacturers say: "If a girl cannot earn six dollars a week at machine work, after she has been doing it from six weeks to three months, she is not adapted to the work, and it is better to put another girl at her machine." And on the other hand, a comment frequently made by the girls is: "She got too slow. She couldn't keep up with her machine any longer." It amounts

to this that the girl can earn a living wage, if she is unusually gifted, *until she is worn out*.

It is, I believe, considered good business policy in some cases to work a horse to death, to wear him out fast, and take another. Certainly it would be a good policy to do so if horses had a very trifling value and could be had in unlimited quantities. At any rate it is good business to wear girls out in this way, for the initial outlay in their case is nothing at all, and they can be had in unlimited numbers. Professor James's theory of "getting your second wind," and "tapping unused reservoirs of energy" is doubtless sound psychology, up to the point where he leaves it, but there is a limit to it, and evidently working under great strain is advantageous only if the strain is relieved by considerable intervals of rest and recuperation. This is the condition under which the artist works preferably, and is the most favorable one for creative work. But the girl placed by the machine has no considerable interval, and is doomed to break down, or to be pushed to a lower economic level. Her only other chance is marriage. The machine is the most effective device for "speeding up," because it puts more strain on the worker than he can put on himself without it, but in all "piece work" the operator is under heavy strain. There are factories in Chicago where the rate of pay per hundred pieces is one cent. Of course, the work passes through many hands, and each operation is simple, but a hundred operations of any kind for one cent is a great deal. A humane employer in Chicago recently looked into the case of a girl who had quit work in his factory, and found that she had been earning ninety-eight cents a week. And machine or no machine, our treatment of the working girl, particularly the factory girl, is scandalously out of harmony not only with our romanticism but with our plain human sentiments. I will not go into the budget which I have before me of a French working girl whose annual wage is \$80, nor refer to the small earning of the English factory girls whose wage is lower than that in this country, and usually about half that received by men for the same work.

"In Perth and Bungay, for instance, the women put in a bill at the end of each week, worked out on the men's scale. The

cashier then divides the total by two, and pays the women accordingly." In London women are still working nineteen hours for one shilling, and shirts are still being made for seven and a half pence per dozen. These distressing conditions are well known, and they are actually a source of great concern to employers.

The employer under the competitive system is as helpless as the operative. He does not profit by the low wages, but the public, the "innocent bystander," gets the benefit. The employer of the girl who had received only ninety-eight cents a week allowed the operatives on a large contract of long standing to run their wages up to \$16 and \$18 a week (they had become so expert in the course of time), with result that another firm bid in the contract, amounting to many thousands of dollars annually.

Admitting, then, that conditions are very bad in certain of the occupations and that they are particularly and horribly bad for woman, is it wise for her to push out into this world? Is it not rather a world with which she should have nothing to do except to stay out of it or get away from it as fast as possible? Or admitting that certain women are being forced into work and even that they have complicated the industrial situation, should not the women of leisure and social position, who are economically provided for, refrain from entering or meddling?

Well, this is not fundamentally a part of the woman question at all, except to the extent that women have always been subject to exploitation by men, and that they are particularly helpless at present because our traditions and their training make them of little economic worth when they are thrown on the world. A woman has no safe and recognized place in society except as a dependent. But the whole question is broader than woman. When we come to examine society as a whole, and particularly our great industrial centers—the long hours and inadequate pay for both men and women, the sweating system, "unsanitary housing, poisonous sewage, contaminated water, infant mortality, the spread of contagion, adulterated food, impure milk, smoke-laden air, ill-ventilated factories, dangerous occupations, juvenile

crime, unwholesome crowding, prostitution and drunkenness"—we must conclude that no one of these conditions stands alone but all are symptoms of a very bad general social situation—that society has not been looked after in these points wisely, affectionately and honestly. This is due partly to greed, partly to helpless ignorance, and partly to sheer neglect of what was no one's particular business.

One of the standard arguments of those who believe in the low and essentially unimprovable mental condition of the savage is that he has no foresight, that he kills the emu chicken when it weighs only three pounds, that he fails to throw back the small fry when fishing, that with him it is either a feast or a famine, and that in general he thoughtlessly depletes his environment. But when we talk in this way we fail to recognize that a sense of thrift, an ability to spare and save, and to postpone an immediate satisfaction for the sake of improved conditions in the future, is one of the hardest and latest lessons learned by the white race, and one only incompletely learned as yet. How much game have we spared in order to let it grow up? The wanton destruction of game and wholesale denudation of forests in this country represent heedlessness on a scale unexampled among the savages. And while we have learned the lesson of economy in a particularistic and industrial way we have failed to develop the idea that the individual has a social value which we cannot afford to destroy, and that in using up the life of the working girl and in the tolerance of an evil and destructive environment we are playing havoc with our own property. In certain of our great industrial organizations, indeed, the employer is already beginning to recognize that it is bad business to put the employee under an unendurable strain. The engineers on the eighteen-hour trains of the Pennsylvania road between Chicago and New York work only ten days in a month, and only reasonable hours on those days. The operative in this case is a valuable part of a valuable plant, not easily replaced and too precious to be wantonly destroyed or worked out in the shortest possible time.

By taking a temporary and shortsighted advantage of the numerosity, cheapness and helplessness of women and girls we

are in fact doing business on a ruinous principle. I do not believe that anyone in the world has a program that would immediately set these matters right, nor that any committee of persons could offhand formulate such a program. The only way is to work point by point, by legislation, sentiment, experiment, education, by the development of good will, and the substitution of simpler standards of living among the more fortunate classes. And I think that even more women than men, entirely uninvited and often unwelcome, have been working for some years at these questions, and they have displayed a wonderful amount of energy, good will, patience and ability. As a matter of fact that occupation or rather that complex of activities which would conserve those interests of society so sadly neglected by politics has been called by Miss Addams "civic housekeeping." She says: "A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping. If American cities have failed in the first, partly because office-holders have carried with them the predatory instinct learned in competitive business, and cannot help 'working a good thing,' when they have an opportunity, may we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities? The men of the city have been carelessly indifferent to much of this civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household."

It is idle, indeed, to speak of the exclusion of women from the occupations. They are entering them from the top and from the bottom. The ill-conditioned are being forced into them and the well-conditioned—those whom men have been educating while deplored the use of their education—are already entering them in considerable numbers at the top. And they are finding new and characteristic ways of giving to society that reserve of affection and nurture which they have heretofore reserved for the child and the home.

In the year 1900 there were more than 5,000,000 women gainfully employed in the United States (as against 23,753,836 men), the rate of increase between 1890 and 1900 of the number of women so employed was much greater than the corresponding

increase for the employment of men (for women 32.8 percent.; for men 21.9 per cent.), and the number of women gainfully employed increased more rapidly in the decade than the female population. So, whether we wish it or not, the old order is already changing rapidly. It is too late to theorize on this point. It means simply that the old idea that all women should live on the activities of men and should limit their own interests to the bearing and rearing of children has gone to pieces.

But what of the home? Shall the married woman and the mother undertake anything seriously outside the home? Yes, I think it is psychologically, if not economically, necessary that she should be no exception. Let us for a moment assume that woman's participation in industry and the professions is of no importance from the economic standpoint, that men and machines are capable of producing enough wealth for the family. And let us recognize that from the human standpoint nature has been very unfair to woman, that her life is not a thing of her own but is imperiously demanded by the coming generation, that "bearing the torch of life" is a more important social function than nature has entrusted to any man, and that there is nothing good enough for woman within the power of man to confer on her. Yet incarceration within the home is the greatest curse that could overtake the nervous system and the mind of woman.

The question is, a fact, fundamentally one of psychology, and from this standpoint there is no doubt that our girls and women are viciously treated, or, let us say, they are in a vicious psychological situation, for nobody bears them any ill will. A principle firmly established in modern psychology is that there can be no high order of intelligence without a preponderating number of voluntary acts. The lower forms of life have no *real* choice. They have habitual reactions to a somewhat uniform outside world, but the outside world controls them, in the sense that they are *obliged* to respond to *all* stimulations. The moth does not plan to fly into the flame, but it is drawn in as the iron filing is drawn by the magnet. It has no mental machinery and no will to choose or resist—and this we may call the fatalistic stage of animal life. At the other end of the scale, the human mind legislates on all suggestions coming from without. And

it is only on this principle of selecting some stimulations and rejecting others, of sitting still picking and choosing, that you have freedom of action, and a situation in which the individual controls the outside world instead of being controlled by it.

Now it is possible to view the whole of human history from the standpoint of the proportion of willed over unwilled acts, of the preponderance of liberty over authority. The savage is popularly regarded as enjoying a state of freedom and irresponsibility, but it would be possible to show, as it has often been shown, that he is the most unfree person in the world. His obligation to the customs of his society, his magical ideas of what he must do and what he may not do, and his positive horror of departure from the usual are very nearly absolutely binding. He views all nonconformity from the same standpoint of prejudice and habituation from which we view such a matter as carrying food to the mouth with a knife. All of his acts have been socially predetermined for him. With the growth of great states and great religious systems,—with their absolutism, depotism, aristocracy, omniscience, omnipotence, predestination, foreordination, will of god, will of the king, will of the pope, will of the priest, will of the master,—we have the power of choice assumed by a few members of society and negated and paralyzed in the minds of the masses. The most attractive formulation of this practice in politics was that the best form of government is a wise and benevolent despotism, and that the history of the world is the fulfilling of the will of God. For these views we have substituted others—that the best government is a government of the people, for the people, by the people, and that the history of the world is a record of the mind and will of man. And we have gone so far as revolutions to establish these newer ideals. To man we grant a free personality and a free choice, but to woman we conceded only the status of infancy and tutelage—affectionate but psychologically as vicious as political or ecclesiastical absolutism.

There is a comfortable side to the theory that the wise and beneficent ruler will see that you suffer nothing in this world, on the sole condition of your obedience, and that holy men will mediate for you an eternal bliss on the sole condition of con-

formity to the will and doctrine of the church, and this sentiment of attaining the good for others, of conferring it on them instead of letting them work it out for themselves, has lived on in our patronage of the poor, of the working man and of woman, even after our formal repudiation of the principle. But this attitude is a slur on the mind, and its persistence in any form is an admission that society has failed to provide conditions within which the mind can freely realize itself.

I hope it is not demanding too much of the attention of the reader to point out also another psychological principle—that the ideally wise and sound choice is one in which all possible alternatives are considered, that any choice, in fact, involves the rejection of all other possible choices which present themselves, and that consequently the most important principle in mental life and the essential to wisdom is to know the conditions of the world as completely as possible. In this sense there is no such thing as a private mind. The mind must be open to all sorts of intrusions from the outside world. There is no possibility of determining beforehand what information may go into the formation of a judgment, and there is the certainty that if full information is absent the judgment will be imperfect. The content of the mind all comes, in fact, from the outside, and the mind must be open to the outside world in all possible ways—in freedom of motion, in freedom of conversation, and in freedom to explore all territories—even the outlawed territory of sex. It would be possible also to go back to the beginning and show that the grade of mind of any species or organism corresponds with its restricted or free power of exploration. The vegetable which does not move at all has no mind at all. The animal mind, which is closed to all but the simple and monotonous stimulations connected with food and sex, remains a simple and monotonous type of mind. That period of history when the mind was not free to explore certain questions is called the "dark ages." And the period of democracy, which is from the psychological standpoint the period of free mental exploration, is also the period of invention, not alone of the mechanical invention which is so conspicuous, but of such inventions as free public schools, preventive medicine, eugenics, and the evolutionary view of the world.

Nor is the case of illustrious men who have withdrawn themselves from society and worked in seclusion an exception to the law that the mind is not a private matter. The materials of knowledge are so vast and so various that out of mere economy of attention and time we have been compelled to resort to specialization, in which a man is supposed to know "something of everything and everything of something." The specialist is often very ill-informed about things in general, and our schools attempt to anticipate this defect by supplying him with a body of "cultural" materials before allowing him to specialize. But the narrowest specialist is not only filling in his consciousness through experiment, reflection and classification, but he lives in a world of books which are a short cut to the opinions of millions of men. He can virtually converse with any man, living or dead, who has anything of importance to say to him, by resort to the printed page. And it is even an economy of time to do this through books rather than conversation.

And if I should here indicate the steps in the development of human consciousness, which I will refrain from doing, I think it would appear that mental improvement in both the individual and the race as a whole is closely associated with the development of the occupations. The mind is a product of activity, and the occupations are merely a formulation of activities along definite and habitual lines. The mind of man, indeed, is not radically improved, but the intensive and unremitting application of attention by men to special subjects gives in the aggregate more, and more varied results, than could be had if the attention of all played loosely over the whole field.

The progress of the world is dependent on the emergence of what we call useful ideas, and these ideas almost invariably emerge in connection with the occupations. We cannot control or predict their appearance, we can only increase the number of chances of their appearance by opening the field of competition to the maximum number of minds. Galton has pointed out that if a genius by any chance appears in a community of say 100,000,000 people, the value of his work, of the ideas which he may originate, is out of all proportion to his numerical relation to the whole of the population. Such an idea as electricity sets

thousands to work along lines which they would otherwise never have entered, or gives a particular and socially valuable direction to their efforts. And thus the sum of knowledge is built up through those specialized pursuits which we call occupational. To exclude women from the occupations is therefore not only to exclude them from those forms of activity which most stimulate the mind, but to deprive society of the benefits which would follow both from their work and from those ideas which they would thus be put in the way of developing. And if there is any value in that variety of personality which compels men to different fields of interest, it is evident that women differing from men in personality more than men differ from one another, are sure to contribute unanticipated results. Their admission is to increase the probability of the emergence of genius.

But I do not contend that women should go into the occupations so much because the occupations need them, though that is also true, as because of the need women have of the occupations. No one is altogether either male or female. The life of men and women corresponds more than it differs. There is no mental function absent in either sex. The occupations represent modes in which the mind expresses itself. They are the moral field, the field of will, of experience, of practice, and of concrete purpose. In this sense work is not a duty but a right. Society may not only claim service from the individual, but the individual may claim the right to function.

At present the strain on women even in the well-to-do families is intolerable. Their isolation, the triviality of their interests and their dependence on the will of another make them nervous and intensely personal, and merely to relieve the tension, if for nothing else, they should prepare themselves for an occupation which they can practice before marriage, continue to practice if they do not enter marriage, which they may intermit in those intervals when the child is entirely helpless, and which they can resume when the child is adult and departed. Such a preparation would not only overcome their feeling of dependence but would tend to make their choice in marriage more rational. And I do not think the ideals of eugenics can be realized until woman is as free as man in the choice of a mate.

Nor would I give a very definite meaning to the term occupation. There is no possible doubt that the lines containing the occupations will continue to shift and that the participation of women will continue to create new occupations. If the women of enforced leisure, for instance, would shift their interests from dress and fashionable functions and standards, that would constitute an occupation engaging their attention for some years. It is even certain that motherhood will become one of the occupations. The occupations imply a preparation and a purpose, and we cannot regard reproduction and the traditional home life of women as occupational, because mere reproduction is an organic act, frequently inadvertent, and the traditional home life has involved no adequate preparation for motherhood. We may fairly set down eugenic motherhood among the occupations, but even then a part of the mother's occupation will be to continue her concrete purposes and practices in the world at large, and to make excursions from the home for the sake of the home.

And, after all, it is not fair play to say that woman's whole life is demanded by the child, and let it go at that. Already the nurture of the child is carried on to a large extent outside of the home. And if those newer ideals of the home and the sentiment of eugenics to which I have referred are realized, if the child is not only in theory but in practice recognized as the main interest of society, the family and society will more and more assist the mother in his nurture. We must remember also that when women are naturally reared they have an astonishing amount of energy. The records of savage society and of peasant life still demonstrate this, as did the home before the coming of the machine. It may seem ungracious to say so, but we indulge a good deal in what the rhetoricians call the "pathetic fallacy" in connection with the bearing of children by women. Nature has given them an energy and disposition in proportion to this very serious function, so that under normal conditions it may be classed among the pleasures, almost among the intoxications. A normal woman can bear children and still retain more energy and more tenacity of life than nature usually gives to man. The close association which we find between marriage and the abandonment of concrete purposes is not therefore a sacrifice to motherhood but a habit. The ordinary woman instantly and

utterly abandons all occupational preparation or practice at the altar, and this is quite aside from the anticipation of children. And the university woman succumbs almost as completely. Women indeed have improved in their mental attitude toward life since the early Victorian period to this extent, that they actually make a preparation for life, which they can use in case they do not accept marriage. But they keep only a wavering eye on the occupational outlook as a makeshift in case of their failure to realize on their matrimonial anticipations. Or at any rate when marriage is proposed to them they are unable to abandon the traditional view that marriage means a retirement from the world only less complete than retirement to a convent.

Woman's responsibility to the race may well be regarded as paramount, but it is not overwhelming, and it is neither wise nor kind to regard her life as a total loss in all points but this single one. It would indeed seem that opposition to woman's participation in the totality of life is a romantic subterfuge, resting not so much on a belief in the disability of woman as on the disposition of man to appropriate conspicuous and pleasurable objects for his sole use and ornamentation. "*A little thing, but all mine own,*" was one of the remarks of Achilles to Agamemnon in their quarrel over the two maidens, and it contains the secret of man's world-old disposition to overlook the *intrinsic* worth of woman.

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Work of Women in the Mercantile Houses of Pittsburgh.

Elizabeth Beardsley Butler.

The little cash girl in her plain black suit starts into a new world when she enters the store, leaving school behind her. Only a small part of this world is opened out to her at first, as she learns to carry messages and parcels and change, to direct customers to different departments and sometimes, where she sees opportunity, to anticipate a want or to supply an unlooked-for need. She learns to find her way about, to know where the stock-rooms are, how the stock of various kinds is kept, and how in rows of cages girls sit making entries in books all day long.

The cash girl may be advanced to the position of wrapper or stock girl. If she is a wrapper, she will begin to feel her responsibility for maintaining a standard of work. An exclusive store in part maintains its exclusiveness by distinctive wrapper and seal, and even a more plebeian store gains many customers by the care and attractiveness with which its parcels are wrapped. I was told by a manager that his wrapper girl was one of the most important employees in the drapery salesroom and worth at least five dollars. How quickly a bright cash girl is allowed to sell goods will depend on her size. For speedy advancement, she needs to be well-built and a little tall, as well as quick to learn.

She may show aptitude for clerical work and be turned aside into one of the offices, without ever working on the floor at all. The office work is like any office work. The other departments, that also are away from the customers, however, have a character distinctly their own, and draw their recruits, not from among the cash girls, but from women in factory trades outside. A laundry, for instance, or a kitchen, may be part of a store. In other cases, draperies and awnings are made to order. Numerically, these by-employments are not important, but work in the alteration room is sufficiently distinct to be considered almost a separate trade.

The alteration hands on cloaks and suits, the trimmers of "Parisian" millinery, are 971 of the women in department stores. They produce by wholesale, but after a fashion different from that in a manufacturing house. A characteristic room of this type is one on a twelfth floor which I saw in the midst of the spring season. Bare and white-washed, with windows on two sides, the hugeness of the room—which was a block wide and long—made artificial light necessary throughout. Of the 115 people employed, only five or six were men. From the first of February until June, and from the middle of August to December, the power-driven needles whirr back and forth for more than ten hours a day. At eight o'clock the hands come in and work, with an interval for lunch, until half-past five. Then they go down to the lunch-room and come up again at six, with a stretch of two and a half hours in the evening. They work hard while they can, for in the dull season they lose at least two months by

periodic unemployment. Some have been dressmakers before, hand workers whose business it was to know how to cut and fit a garment. They put all that behind them when they enter an alteration room. If a girl has done only individual work before, the trade has to be re-learned. The needles are power-driven. Changes are chalked on the goods, and suits are turned out wholesale for unknown customers. Rarely is an apprentice employed. Busier than in a wholesale house, the managers of the workroom have no place except for those with experience, to whom they pay ten dollars a week during the season. "What's the use of paying more?" said one, "you can get a fine worker for ten dollars, one who knows how to do anything you want."

The girls in the millinery workrooms, like those in wholesale millinery houses, have their seasons of work. Except that some hats are altered and some are trimmed to order, the work is much the same as elsewhere in the trade, and the larger part of the time is given to trimming hats ready-made and ready-to-wear. The trimmers, like the alteration hands on suits, have a trade which for years they may have followed under other circumstances until chance brought them into the group of department store employees. The drapery and awning makers, too, are not apprenticed in the stores. Without experience in the use of materials and tools, they could not obtain their positions. All these trained and taught hands, however, are in the minority, totaling less than fourteen per cent of the women employees.

The salesgirls, untrained and untaught, are in the overwhelming majority. Of them, there are 6,534—86.5 per cent of the women in the stores. The material upon which they have to work is the pliant and receptive customer, or, at other times, the irritable and impatient customer. The tools at their hand are the cases of stock behind the counter, the counter displays and the books or cases of samples. For lack of the right word, a sale is lost. The salesgirl fails at the critical moment, sometimes through ignorance of her tools—the stock that she is trying to sell—sometimes through sheer indifference, but perhaps more often still, through lack of ability to follow the musings

of a customer who conjures up possibilities, doubts and hesitates. Successful salesmanship implies an immediate commercial use of psychology.

It is the absence of these qualities that we resent, when the girl behind the counter, like the indolent slave in the bazaar, is too obviously indifferent as to whether we go or stay. We expect that courtesy will allow us freedom of choice, but we prefer our purchases to be wanted. Frequent disregard of our pride and of our time calls for the host of floor-walkers and inspectors to interfere. They, at least, do not forget that we need attention, even if we fail to receive a welcoming smile, for albeit unencouraged, we will yet purchase if opportunity be given us.

But floor-walkers and inspectors cannot supply in their sales-women a knowledge of the tools—an understanding of the qualities of different kinds of goods. Their business is to oversee the daily events in a store. They are to direct strangers, to keep sharp watch for petty thefts, to see that the force behind the counters is adequate to handle the trade. For the previous training of the girls they can assume no responsibility. Neither can they teach a new girl, except by a few general directions, in what ways her stock is distinctive and how she is to offer it. There are other girls behind the counter, but who else, to teach her? She is not often a person sufficiently experienced in buying to be herself a judge of quality.

It is remarkable that the saleswoman, unfamiliar with her stock and her problem, groping for a method in the dark wood of her inexperience, should be even occasionally successful. I do not speak here of the girls who are notably inattentive. In stores with the highest standard of management they are not found, and in less carefully managed stores, a force of floor-walkers goes far to eradicate them. Their stay in the industry is short, and next season they are as likely to be found serving in restaurants or selling tickets in nickelodeons, as behind the counter of a store.

I am speaking of the girls who at least try to be sales-women, who stay in one store or another from six to seven years—the term of their working life. Ten hours at a me-

chanical process weary a factory girl, but the fluent physical and emotional poise with which the saleswoman must needs meet her various customers, inevitably connotes nervous as well as physical fatigue. Other things being equal, such fatigue, where a girl understands her task and knows how to meet it, should readily be repaired by the rest hours between hours of work. But when the girl does not understand her task—when she has no training, when she has neither the philosophy nor the personal strength to face irritability and unreasonableness without nervous loss, when she lacks that understanding of the mind's working which would enable her to say the deciding word, when the customer's perplexity baffles her and her own helplessness annoys her—can her physical weariness and nervous fatigue be minimized when set side by side with that of the operative at a machine? Much in the shopgirl's task of to-day is less obviously harmful than that of the machine worker's, the effect of which on health even a layman cannot fail to understand, but the final effect is no less real, no less serious to her and to her children.

Not only these elements of the environment, however, but the physical elements of building construction and arrangement, are important from the standpoint of the working force. The planning of the Pittsburgh store has been determined by the way the city has grown, has scrambled awkwardly over hills and along the river's edge, spreading out fan-shaped from the intersecting point of the two rivers and crowding into one narrow point of land its office buildings, stores and railroad terminals. Even from the river, the hills seem to spring up and the buildings to follow them. Like the other business enterprises, the stores have followed the slope of the hills. Some have succeeded in getting a flat bit of ground, only to have basements and cellars threatened by the spring floods. Others have been built farther from the river, following an ascending street, which opens impartially on first floor front and second floor rear of the store. The rear of the first floor, below the level of the street, like a tunnel entrance, is compelled to scatter its darkness by the glare of sputtering electric lights.

The unwisdom of using a tunnel-like salesroom is surpassed

only by the use of a cellar workplace, in which not even one end is open toward the light. We need not dwell on the stores in which tight-closed basements are the domain of the cashiers. In five stores, however, seventy-five girls are employed to sell goods in basements with no openings whatever to the outside air. An electric fan in such case is wholly ineffectual, either to drive out impure air or to let fresh air in. Upper floors, too, although in lesser degree, are in need of a more thorough ventilating system. To an unwarranted extent, reliance is placed on the chance opening of a window and occasional openings on shafts to the roof.

Health and efficiency in a measure go hand in hand. The kind of efficiency that results from a clear brain and physical buoyancy—the kind of efficiency that even an untrained sales-girl may have—is sapped constantly by the breathing of vitiated air. Efficiency is sapped, too, by needless physical weariness, whether this weariness results from careless building of counters (to economize space) so that the girls have not room to pass each other, and even while standing up are always cramped and uncomfortable; or from the firm's neglect to provide seats, or from the tacit understanding, of all too frequent occurrence, that seats when provided are not for use.

Insistence by managers that the girls shall be found standing at their posts, seems a primitive way to recognize the psychological necessity of a welcoming smile. At times during the day they are not waiting on customers. At times they have no stock to fix and are obliged only to be at their places. That they should have always to stand, seems obviously unnecessary, and has become a point of specific legal attack in states that have built up a factory law. The law of Pennsylvania requires that "every person, firm or corporation employing girls or adult women, in any establishment, shall provide suitable seats for their use, and shall permit such use when the employees are not necessarily engaged in active duties."

Two stores observe the spirit of the law, providing in one case no less than four seats behind each counter, and in the other for each counter at least two seats. Among the other stores, on the contrary, whole sections of the floor are without

a seat accessible to the salesgirls and at counters fitted out with one seat, there are perhaps a dozen girls to share it. When nineteen seats are allotted to 500 girls, or twelve seats to 300 girls, it would be of interest to know whether, in the eyes of the law, this is provision of "suitable seats" for the female employees.

The policy of the management as to the use of seats, when provided, often differs on first and second floors. Because the girls on the first floor are seen by the customer first, it is felt that they especially need, by always standing, to create an impression of attentiveness. In consequence, first floor girls are tacitly forbidden to sit, while if there comes a spare moment on the second floor, the girls may be seated without danger of reprimand. The head of stock in one department told me that if a girl were seen sitting she would be discharged at once. Acknowledged rules, however, against the use of the seats are few, but in their place is the tacit understanding in seventeen of the stores that to stand is requisite if a girl is to retain her position. Some states have yet to fight for a law protecting women from this unnecessary drain upon their strength, but Pennsylvania already has such a law. Her need is for effective public sentiment to ensure its observance.

The periodic long hours in the stores have often been matter for comment. The daily schedule in fourteen cases is from eight to five-thirty, and in eight cases from eight to six. Two stores not only are open Saturday evenings but evenings during the week as well, until nine and ten o'clock. In one case all the girls are obliged to stay, but in the other the schedule is so worked out that each girl is on duty but two nights a week besides Saturday. When she works at night, she does not come until ten the next day. A typical schedule would be: Monday, 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.; Tuesday, 8 a. m. to 9 p. m.; Wednesday, 10 a. m. to 6 p. m.; Thursday, 8 a. m. to 9 p. m.; Friday, 10 a. m. to 6 p. m.; Saturday, 8 a. m. to 10 p. m.; a total of fifty-seven working hours a week.

The time of year when long hours are felt most is before Christmas or during stock taking time in January. It seems unbusinesslike that these night hours should be counted in as

a part of the week's work, that the girls should not have the option either of staying or of going, or if they do stay, the opportunity to earn extra pay in proportion to their time. Whether as a matter of health they should be allowed to work for the hours that the Christmas trade sometimes demands is another consideration. One store has no Christmas overtime. Its trade apparently has not lessened because of its refusal to depart from its standard working day, but the others have ten days or two weeks of night work. Six of them have a double shift, an arrangement whereby half the girls are on duty alternate evenings, coming later on the days following nights at work. Seventeen stores have no double shift, but require a working week of seventy-two to eighty-four hours.

Seven give extra pay in some form. In one case, "We go down and get what we like from the fountain," the girls say; in others, twenty-five or thirty-five cents is paid for "supper money." This bears no proportion to the girls' weekly wages, or to the estimated worth of her time but simply enables the management to avoid appearing to require work without pay. One of the stores—a five and ten cent store, by the way—gives a bonus of five dollars to each girl at Christmas time, after a year's service. This bonus is increased in amount yearly until the maximum sum of twenty-five dollars is reached, after five years' service. The other small stores under the same name, not only give their employees no bonus, but do not even give supper money for the nights at work. It is in part the youth of the employees, in part their inability to bargain and their lack of cohesion, that have helped to make an arrangement of this sort customary.

Atlantic. 100: 401-7. September, 1907.

Immigrant Woman. Frances A. Kellor.

For the year ending June 30, 1905, 301,585 women, nearly one-half of the number of men, came to this country. The great majority of these came here for work. 19 out of every 100 native American women are engaged in gainful occupa-

tions; but 32 out of every 100 foreign-born women are so engaged, and the percentage is increasing. In my investigation of several thousand unmarried immigrant women, and married immigrant women without children, who had arrived within three years, fully 90 per cent were found at work or looking for work. Furthermore, among such nationalities as the Poles, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and others, young women are banding together and coming over in small gangs, without connections of any kind on this side, for the purpose of working.

The chief value of women immigrants to this country at the present time is industrial. They are a greater industrial factor than is generally recognized. They bear as important a relation to households, factories, and shops, as contract laborers do to the business, commerce, and transportation interests of the country. The demand fully equals that for men. The nature of their employment, their means of obtaining work, conditions of work, and effect upon industry, are therefore of the first importance. By far the greatest number are found in domestic service. The household industry is literally dependent upon the immigrant, and a famine of labor would result should this supply be cut off. This is in a scarcely less degree true of the factories.

For the year ending June 30, 1905, 84 per cent of all women entering the port of New York gave domestic service as their occupation; of Philadelphia, 65 per cent; and of Boston, 82 per cent. The last available statistics for Massachusetts show that 16,694 women were engaged in domestic service in Boston, and of this number 80 per cent were foreign-born. In Chicago there are many agencies entirely for foreign women. In New York city there are 169 agencies run for the purpose of distributing immigrant houseworkers, chiefly women. Many others also supply immigrants. This dependence upon immigrants is proportionally true in most of the cities where the negro is not the main source of supply. The small town also has increasing numbers of foreign-born houseworkers.

Notwithstanding the constant increase in immigration, under the present conditions of prosperity, the demand far exceeds the supply. The first problem which faces the immigrant is the

need of work which she can do. The American housewife is depending upon the immigrant to solve her domestic problem, while the great number of immigrants come to America to be free, and especially from all badges of servitude. To them America is something beautiful, and represents a great opportunity. Ordinarily they are unskilled and may be willing to be household workers while learning English and American ways and acquiring training; but housewives who are looking to the immigrant as a means of establishing a trained servant class in this country, will be disappointed, for opportunities are open to them to enter any trade, profession, or home for which they fit themselves.

The immigrant then is a transient, not a permanent, domestic worker. The privilege of the American housewife is to train the green immigrant, not for her permanent or even long service, but to give her knowledge, efficiency, culture, and a democratic spirit. When she has acquired these, the power of choice becomes hers, and she leaves for a trade or public house where the conditions are better, hours regular, duties definite, and social isolation and discrimination not so pronounced. Because of her greater knowledge and efficiency, and recently acquired higher standard of living, these have become essential to her happiness. The number who enter housework and desert it within a year or two is alarming from the point of view of the industry. Many marry young, but many others desert to the trades. Of 300 Jewish girls who were placed at household work on their arrival, when visited at the end of the first year fully two-thirds of those not married had gone into factories, stores, millinery, or other sewing trades. In Philadelphia, out of 500 girls traced, less than 10 per cent were in household industry. In Chicago many desert to the stock-yards, and in Massachusetts to the mills.

Few Italian women are found in household work. In New York, where the greatest majority enter, there is but one agency which furnishes Italian girls and that one "only once in a while." The Italian girls are, however, attracted by the light and music and color of the cafés and restaurants, and are entering them to such an extent as to present a grave moral situation. The Italian

man is opposed to menial work for women, and the Italian feeling of the "impropriety of their going about unaccompanied" prevents to any degree their isolation as household workers, which would remove the guardianship now maintained. The home ties of the Jews are proverbially strong, and there also exists a prejudice against personal service. The difference in food and in its preparation is an obstacle to their working in Christian families or for unorthodox Jews. The Jewish girl prefers to return to her home at night, and to marry young, and she is consequently found in the restaurant, hotel, and boarding-house, or in factories and shops. There are more than 75 agencies in New York city run by Jews for the purpose of placing Jewish girls in households, hotels, restaurants, and similar places. They are well patronized, but not so much by girls who have been here several years. Domestic training-schools started for Jewish immigrant girls have failed utterly. Germans, French, Scandinavians, English, Irish, and Canadians are found in large numbers in domestic work, and are much in demand. The difficulties are that they come in small numbers, and many prefer mills and factories and are quite as much in demand by business men. Housewives can well complain to their husbands that their competition has depleted the home of its domestic workers. The tendency of the Scandinavians to colonize withdraws many from the cities. The rapid assimilation of American standards and customs and freedom by Germans and Irish makes them train their children for occupations other than housework.

Roughly speaking, there are three classes of immigrants who are coming to America. (1) Those who come because the way is made easy and who do not intend to work. They hope to live off their friends and relations, or marry. They are the drifters, and contribute to the immorality among foreign-speaking peoples. (2) Those who come on promises of high wages and easy work. They mean to work, but at something they like, and they mean to be free. They are independent and demand good wages in domestic work from the start. They frequently leave for the shop. (3) Those who have been poor beasts of burden, and are driven to this haven by persecution, taxation, wretchedness, starvation, oppression, and the great

desire to better their condition. They are willing to learn, will do anything that comes to hand, and in their generation, barring marriage, rarely leave domestic work or get beyond the factory or sweat-shop door.

These last two classes, who constitute our present and future domestic workers, include ever-increasing numbers of Jews, Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, Lithuanians, and Portuguese. In their racial, industrial, historical, social, and political life, they are not closely allied with the Anglo-Saxon race. Their language is another bar. Assimilation of races from Northern and Western Europe, that at one time constituted the greater part of immigration, is an easier matter than of these races. The standard of living is also radically different. Many are peasants unused to any other than field work. They frequently have lived in one or two room huts and have crude ideas of food and its preparation, housing, sanitation and cleanliness, and have no idea whatever of the methods, appliances, or utensils in use in American homes.

Influences are also at work that are changing the moral fibre of the immigrants. Formerly they came for some strong political, religious, or economic reason. They meant to win their way by hard work. They had to suffer many privations in order to come, and they came to stay—to make this their home, and not to earn as much money as possible and then go back and live in ease. Strong characters equal to these privations came, and they made equally good citizens. Now the desire to emigrate is artificially stimulated, and this is more successful in countries from which undesirable workers come. In Ireland and Sweden there are anti-emigration societies which prevent many young girls from coming to America, and these countries, including Germany, have a knowledge of the lack of protection given young women in our cities, and prevent many from coming.

Steamship ticket agents offer cheap rates and present alluring and misleading pictures of ease. Friends and relatives send them the money. Employment agents lure them on and are their only friends and advisers when they arrive. Two ignorant immigrant girls came over here because they had been told

gold could be found in the streets. They were found in an agency, without food, refusing work, because they daily expected to find gold. This is the immigrant girl who becomes the prey of idlers and procurers in cities, for they promise "easy work and high wages." Other promises equally preposterous are the cause of their leaving home. When they come under such inducements they are easily discontented and fall into the casual labor class, working a short time here and there and not content anywhere. Domestic service is well at the head of the list of casual labor industries.

There are other explanations of the prevailing inefficiency. Not only have American standards advanced, but formerly the employer went to Castle Garden or to the immigrant home for her employee. Now she resorts to the employment agency. The employment agencies in the cities are the first, chief, and only training-schools for thousands of immigrant women yearly, and the whole country is affected by their training, for the women go from them to all parts of the country. The agency is a necessary means of distribution, but the employer makes a great mistake in tolerating it as a training-school and as the sole interpreter to immigrant women of the standards, requirements, and wages in American homes. Legislation is powerless to change this condition. Household employers will do well to bear in mind that they provide no better training-schools. Several agencies, started in the employer's interest, by intelligent persons, have failed because the employers have not supported them.

The agent is frequently foreign-born, knows little or nothing of the American household standards, or if so, ignores them, works for a fee, and his sympathies are with the immigrant. If the immigrant is too old for the position, the agent starts her American career by teaching her to lie, a step made necessary, in his judgment, by the false standard of age instead of efficiency, on which the employer insists. Next she is told that she can get high wages for what she can do, and so he teaches her a few replies to questions which will make her appear efficient. She thus starts with an erroneous idea of her own worth, and when discharged for incompetency the agent

immediately gets her another place and labels her "experienced." What is she to think of our wonderful country, where she is offered two dollars more a month when she has just been discharged as "incapable"? She must be "neat, clean, and industrious," and the agent tells her what this means in America, and it is difficult to make her understand afterward that he has misrepresented. She asks for a "steady job." The agent prefers to place her a month and then call for her for another patron, thereby making another fee. She does not know this is his object, but in a short time she likes changing about, and her idea of a steady place becomes half a dozen in a year.

These are only instances of the kind of training given by the agent, for he really continues her education. She visits him frequently, goes to him for advice or when out of work, and sees much of American life as he represents it.

But his influence does not end there. The household worker, unlike any other worker, when she loses her position loses her "home," and it may be at an hour's notice. The immigrant homes will take such a worker in, but these are unknown to the great majority, and the houseworker, if known as such, is barred from most working-girls' clubs, homes, and hotels. So the agent and his boarding-house friend take her in. The boarding-house keepers, anxious for the lodging fee, frequently refuse to let the immigrant girls work anywhere but in hotels and restaurants, and they become the active competitors of household employers. The surroundings of these agency lodging-houses and boarding-houses are such that the employer would hesitate to employ a woman coming from them; and the woman used to the sociability, intemperance, associations, glare, and crowd, becomes ill adapted for isolation in a private family. These associations, which usually include seeing the sights, create impressions from which it is difficult to break away. Even after living with relatives in a tenement, the loneliness of the private family is appalling to her. When asking the question why immigrant women do not choose housework, it is well for the housewife to remember that they come to America for a home, and that a thing which can be taken away from them at an hour's notice cannot mean that, for it is only a place.

To be homeless in a great city on short notice has perils which even the ignorant peasant quickly realizes.

I have tried to make clear that immigrant women constitute the main source of supply of domestic workers in cities; that they are transient workers; and that their inadaptability and inefficiency require more patience, training, and adjustability on the part of housewives in order that they may become good workers. Nevertheless, with all of these disadvantages, they make it possible for the housewife to care for her home properly and to have leisure and time to participate in other occupations. But for these conditions she gives much more than do most other employers.

If the immigrant worker is not able at first to meet the complex demands of the American home, one of two things results. The first is—and it is the great reason why immigrants should be encouraged to go into domestic work—that in no way can the immigrant learn so quickly and so well the American customs and standards. There is no greater help to assimilation than work in the American home. All of the culture and advantages of the home are placed at her disposal. She learns to do things for her own home, and stores up many things for a wise training of her children, which she could not learn in many years if she went directly into the factory. This is her opportunity. The races whose women go into household work are more Americanized than those who do not. Not only does the worker profit, but she carries to her friends and relatives the knowledge and habits and customs and new things that she has learned. But it is the employer's *responsibility* to see that she learns good standards and customs and real culture. The life which some American homes place before their employees, and which to these employees is typical of America, is more misleading and pernicious than the training in employment agencies. These employers do not realize that they are poor patriots in holding out such standards to the eager immigrant. Every housewife who takes a green immigrant woman into her home is largely responsible for her impressions of American life and belief in American ideals. In the alternative of receiving such good standards lies the real danger. Where the

standard of the American home is not superior to that of the immigrant worker, the employee gradually lowers the standard of the employer. Where supervision is lax, intelligence low, and the housekeeping neglected, the employee gradually adopts the standards of sanitation, hygiene, and conversation which she was taught in the crowded tenement. The housewife now tolerates it where she at first rebelled against it. The care of the children is entrusted to the servant, and they are taught things and do things that are ignored in order to "keep the maid." Thus the whole tone is lowered and the home ceases to be a means of culture or advantage to the worker.

The housewife almost invariably has the selfish point of view: she objects to training green immigrant girls because they leave her for some one else, and says her "effort is wasted." It may be wasted in so far as her own home is concerned, but not only is some other home benefited, but the immigrant is a great gainer, and household employers become direct contributors to the public welfare. One main justification for the existence of domestic service, which is not a productive trade but economically parasitic, is that culture may be diffused, and that the homes of immigrant women who marry may be patterned after those of their former employers, and their children be reared according to American standards.

From this brief discussion of immigrant women in domestic work, it may be said that domestic service is preferable for them when they first arrive, especially for races which do not readily assimilate. Since the demand exceeds the supply, and the industry is dependent upon foreign-born workers, and their children, this supply should be increased in the following ways:—

1. Greater supervision of work, and training by housewives, and a higher home standard, so that the immigrant will realize more quickly its advantages in making her a better citizen.
2. Establishment of training-schools or transition schools for newly arrived immigrants, instead of leaving all of this training to employment agents. These schools cannot be entirely for training in domestic work, for the girls will not attend them. They need to offer courses in English, American stan-

dards of living, personal hygiene, sanitation, information about rights, wages, conditions of work, etc. Folk dances, games, amusements of their nationalities to lessen the isolation in a new country, will attract them.

3. Friendly visiting of young immigrant workers in their own homes when they first arrive and are looking for work, so that they may become interested in the right kind of work and be directed to fair employers to whom they will make fair representations.

4. A coöperative movement on the part of employers, with agents abroad, to bring in desirable workers. This is being done by various states and employers for other kinds of labor.

5. Effective competition with other industries by placing housework on a business basis and making the conditions compare favorably with those in shop and factory.

6. Patronage of agencies which maintain good standards. Most employers never inquire about agency conditions or the relation of the agent to the girl, so long as they are treated satisfactorily.

7. Treatment of the green immigrant worker as a human being. Many leave housework because of impositions made by employers. This question of domestic service is not one of what immigrants shall do to get work in houses, but what employers must do to obtain enough immigrant workers for their homes.

8. Protection of young immigrant women who come here, so that they may find honest work. Business men are interested in obtaining laws to prevent the exploitation of their employees and in movements to make them efficient. But in many cases housewives permit, without apparent interest, the exploitation and demoralization of young women who would have become honest workers had they been protected upon arrival. The café, disorderly house, amusement den, massage parlor, and other places which have a bad or doubtful influence, have little difficulty in obtaining a corps of workers, and the household employers' superficial treatment of the causes of the insufficiency of workers aids them.

9. Some provisions for lodging household workers when out of employment. Household employers will find a great field for work in improving lodging conditions for domestic workers.

Charities and the Commons. 20: 655-9. September 5, 1908.

Industrial Diseases with Special Reference to the Trades in which Women are Employed. Alice Hamilton.

Women are employed in many of the lead industries and they are much more susceptible to this form of poisoning than men are, so much so that in England their employment in the more dangerous processes is absolutely prohibited. Before the enactment of that law, the lead industry in Newcastle had caused ninety-four cases of lead poisoning among women as against forty-one among men, the two sexes being employed in about the same numbers. In two years' time twenty-two women and only one man died of lead poisoning.

Arsenic is another poison used in industry, but it is far less important now, for its place is being taken by the aniline dyes. It is said, however, to be still employed in the coloring of textiles, carpets, linoleum, wall-paper, playing cards, artificial flowers, and colored rubber balls and toys. Artificial flower making is supposed to be especially dangerous as the dye is used dry and dusted over the flowers. Like lead, arsenic is absorbed from the air or carried by the fingers to the mouth. Arsenical poisoning is slow and chronic, causing inflammation of the eye and nose, dry sore throat, headache and digestive disturbances. It is seldom fatal.

Phosphorus has for a long time been looked upon with horror as a deadly poison, but it does not cause nearly as much disease as lead, for its use is practically restricted to the match industry. There are two kinds of phosphorus used in industry, the red, which is non-poisonous and which is used in making safety matches, and the white or yellow, used in the ordinary lucifer match. This is an extremely poisonous substance, the fumes of which cause decay of the teeth extending to the jaw-

bone. The so-called "phossy-jaw" which used to be common enough in the old countries, was a condition of necrosis and suppuration of the lower jaw resulting in the loss of portions of the bone. This condition is rarely seen now in any country and in America it is said to be unknown.

The white phosphorus industry is strictly controlled in England and on the continent. Denmark has prohibited its use altogether. France took over the manufacture of matches as a government monopoly, and then found that she had to pay such large sums in compensations to phosphorus-poisoned work-people, that she gave up the use of white phosphorus and substituted a non-poisonous salt, the sesquisulphide, which can be used for the making of ordinary matches. Dangerous as is the use of white phosphorus, a match factory can be made almost entirely safe if strict attention is paid to ventilation and cleanliness.

The rubber industry is very large and important, employing hundreds of women. The dangers in this industry come from two substances, naphtha and carbon bisulphide. The first is not fatally poisonous. It causes ill effects chiefly by the loss of appetite and the loathing for food which girls especially experience. In factories where the naphtha is kept uncovered, the air becomes filled with the vapor which is very irritating. It is impossible to help tasting it in the food eaten, and the distaste for food, and the constant headache, cause anemia and malnutrition. But carbon bisulphide, which is used in vulcanizing the rubber, is much more dangerous. There are several safe ways of combining sulphur with rubber, and they are in use in some factories, but carbon-bisulphide cannot be made safe. This is another poison to which young women are especially susceptible. It acts very much like alcohol, causing excitability, sleeplessness, and nervousness, followed by lassitude and headache which is relieved only by another dose of the poisonous vapor, until the effect culminates in complete nervous break-down, in neuritis leading to paralysis, or in gradual mental deterioration. In England it has been decided that nobody should work for more than five hours a day in the carbon bisulphide rooms and the time should be divided into two widely separated shifts.

Leaving the poisons, the most important of the really dangerous trades are the dust producing ones. If people work

in dust laden air their lungs will suffer from it sooner or later, and the quickness or severity of the disease will be in proportion to the irritating nature of the dust. Textile works are great producers of lung troubles, the dust of linen being most irritating, of wool next, and of cotton least. Dye works are also dusty, so are potteries. The dust acts generally in one of two ways. The swelling of the lining of the bronchial tubes, and the spasmodic efforts to cough, may cause asthma, or the dust may set up a chronic inflammation which prepares the soil for tuberculous infection. In England the deaths from consumption among spinners and carders was almost double that of an ordinary country community, and among the linen workers no less than three-fifths were said to die of lung disease, but as a result of strict laws regulating dampness and fluff in textile works, the death rate from tuberculosis dropped from forty in 10,000 of population to twenty-one, while the general death rate throughout England fell only from thirty-six to twenty-five.

Pottery work is dangerous in two ways. It is a dusty and therefore a consumption producing trade the dust being composed of sharp particles, and it is one in which lead is used and, therefore, it exposes the workers to lead poisoning. In the great English potteries, among the women who brush and polish the fired pottery, cases of consumption sometimes develop after two months' work. These workers rarely live to be over forty-five years, and more than twice as many die of tuberculosis as among the working population in general. The same thing is true in dye works, especially those in which lead chromate or potassium chromate dyes are used, for here too we have the double effect of dust and of the poison contained in the dust.

Other trades are dangerous because of the excessive dampness with which is often combined excessive heat. Laundries, jam factories, canning works of all kinds, have the air saturated with moisture all the time. Women work in the thinness of clothing because of the heat, they are soaking wet, their hair and feet wet, the air they breathe hot, and especially in laundries, very foul. They go out weakened from excessive perspiration into the cold air. Rheumatism, heart disease, bronchitis, and tuberculosis are the special diseases of women

in laundries, canneries, and jam factories. Unfortunately these are just the trades which are apt to have long and exhausting hours of work for their women employees.

There are many industries in which women are engaged, which are not in themselves dangerous, but become so because they are habitually carried on under unhealthful conditions which usually could perfectly well be done away with. There is nothing deleterious in tailoring or cigar making, nor is there anything in the sewing trades, or in the making of artificial flowers, of bread, cake, and crackers, or in the occupation of saleswomen and cash girls, which is unhealthful, yet these are all trades that in most instances are carried on so badly that women's health is broken down. Long hours, artificial light, dusty and dirty rooms, over-crowding, are not essential to any industry, but they are very common features of many.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the bad effects of long hours of work on women's health, especially if the work must be done standing. Women are not physically adapted to work which requires great endurance—and they suffer far more than men from the strain of standing on their feet for many hours. Any physician will agree to the statement that an eight hour day on her feet is more than enough for a woman's strength, yet we all know that a ten hour day is considered too short in many industries, and that women are kept at hard labor for more than twelve hours in some laundries, canneries, etc.

The introduction of machinery has proved a doubtful blessing in some ways. I have heard women say that sewing or weaving, with the old foot-power looms and sewing machines, was less exhausting than feeding the new power looms and machines. The nervous strain incident to watching the machinery, and keeping up with its speed, breaks down a woman more than does slower although more arduous work. In all these trades it must be remembered that mere bodily fatigue, when it becomes chronic, leads to inevitable sickness. Sleeplessness, loss of appetite, a distaste for solid food and a craving for coffee, tea, or other stimulants, constant headache and backache, pelvic disorders, all these follow as results of days spent in labor which is not in itself dangerous, but which is pursued each day to the point of exhaustion.

The surroundings under which the work is carried on may be responsible for disease. An inquiry was made into the history of 200 consumptive working people in Berlin. In 1891 the source of infection could be traced. Seventy-five had caught it probably in their work places, as they had all worked for long periods in close proximity to consumptive fellow-workmen. Those working in closed rooms were of course the most numerous. Over-crowding is a most important factor, for scientists have proved that not only is the dust from the floors on which consumptives have expectorated dangerous, but the droplets which are expelled in ordinary coughing, fly for a distance of ten feet or more, and contaminate the air around the consumptive.

A word must be said as to married women in industry. The entrance into the industrial world of women who are actual or prospective mothers, must be looked at from the point of view both of the mother herself and of the children. For the woman herself, certain trades are especially dangerous. The lifting of heavy weights, the use of foot power machines or any work which involves excessive muscular effort, may result in injury to the woman's organs and in the loss of the child if she is pregnant. Among the poisonous trades those using lead are the most dangerous, for lead is a most potent producer of abortion, and it is very rare that a woman lead worker bears a healthy child at term.

In Holland, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland, women may not work in a factory for four weeks after confinement. Germany makes it six weeks, unless the woman is strong. This is done as much for the sake of the child as of the woman, and in Spain there is a very merciful provision for mothers that they shall have an hour during the working day at full pay, half an hour in the morning and half in the afternoon. Sanitarians often refer to the singular and interesting effect upon infant mortality produced by two great crises which threw large numbers of women out of work. During the siege of Paris and during the Lancashire famine, there was no factory work. There was terrible privation among the poor, yet the infant mortality rate fell off most strikingly, in Paris as much as

forty per cent, simply because the mothers were obliged to stay at home and nurse their babies. Careful statistics collected in England shows that it is most deleterious to the health of the nation for married women to work in factories. A poorer way of living with the mother at home causes fewer deaths among infants than better living with the mother working out. In England from forty to fifty-six per cent of the babies born to factory mothers die in infancy.

Now if all the evils of which I have spoken were inevitable there would be no use talking about them, but inasmuch as every civilized country has proved that industry can be carried on without the sacrifice of life and health, it behooves us at least to discuss the question and not to resign ourselves to ills that are preventable. I suppose it is a relic of the youthful daring pioneer spirit, which achieved such brilliant things in the early days of our country, that makes us as an industrial nation reckless of health and life and impatient of the control of law. But while it may be an admirable thing to be reckless of danger for oneself, there is nothing admirable in allowing ignorant and helpless people to incur risks which they either do not realize, or which they are compelled to face. For in all this question of dangerous trades, we must remember that we are dealing with a class which is not really free, and which is compelled to a great extent to follow certain trades, and to work in certain places, and has very little choice. When you really consider it, how much can a working woman do to control the conditions under which she works? If you tell a girl in a tailor shop that there is a consumptive working in the same room with her, that she runs great risk of illness unless she finds a clean, light, well-ventilated shop with no tuberculous infection, she will tell you that she knows no other trade, that her wages are essential to her family, that she dare not leave that shop for fear of not finding another and that anyway they are all much the same and she must take her chances. It is not true that the wage earner is a free agent. For an employer to say to his work-people, "If you don't like the job, get out," may in many instances be like a captain at sea saying to his sailors, "If you don't like the ship, get overboard."

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Women Ought to Work. Ida Husted Harper.

The moment we accept the theory that women must enter wage-earning occupations only when compelled to do so by poverty, that moment we degrade labor and lower the status of all women who are engaged in it. This theory prevailed throughout past ages, and it placed a stigma upon working women which is only beginning to be removed by the present generation. As long as a woman advertised her dire necessity by going outside the home to work she could not avoid a feeling of humiliation and the placing of a barrier between herself and her more favored sisters. The fact that only a few insignificant employments with the most meager wages were permitted added still further to the disgrace of her position. When, however, in the rapid evolution of the last third of a century practically all occupations were thrown open and into these poured women of education and social standing, belonging to families of ample means, the barriers at once began to fall and the stigma to fade out of sight. The great organizations of women which have been formed during this period freely admit wage-earners, all meet on common ground; and frequently, by reason of their superior ability, women engaged in business are elected to the offices. There never was a time when there was such fraternity between women of the leisure and the working classes. To destroy this by barring out from remunerative vocations all except those who must earn their daily bread or become paupers would be a calamity, and this long backward step never will be taken.

Who is to decide just what shall be the size of the family income to entitle a girl to do no outside work? There are some very rich men so niggardly in their allowance to the members of their family that no self-respecting girl, any more than a self-respecting boy, will remain a dependent on their grudging bounty an hour longer than is positively necessary. But if the father of moderate income is generous to the full extent of his means, shall the daughters accept it all until

his illness or old age drives them out into the world to work for themselves? Or shall they by their own exertions relieve him of their support and give him a chance to lay aside enough to meet these contingencies?

Those who insist that all the women of the family should confine their labors to the household wholly ignore the vital fact that most of its duties have been carried outside. They note with regret that, "while a century ago there were no women in our factories, now 45 per cent. of their employees are women," but omit to state that far more than 45 per cent. of the work now done in factories has been taken directly away from the women of the household. They have not left their legitimate work, they simply have followed it from the home to the factory.

The charge is continually made that the entrance of women into the industrial world has lowered men's wages to a ruinous degree. As a matter of fact, there are very few departments of work where men are not receiving higher wages now than ever before. If, however, these were placed at the same figure as before women entered into competition, and the 4,000,000 women now engaged in bread-winning employments were withdrawn and set down in the home, the results would be most disastrous. From necessity they would constitute a vast body of consumers depending upon an inadequate body of producers. It would mean a life of idleness and privation for women, of added labor and sacrifice for men, a situation equally undesirable for both.

Nothing could more effectually destroy the stimulus to exertion in the girls of the high schools and colleges than the knowledge that all progress was to stop on commencement day, that it was to be the end instead of the beginning, that because their fathers were able to support them therefore they must make no use of this education. It is in the households of such that usually there is the least demand for domestic service on their part, as paid servants supply all that is necessary. Shall these highly trained girls be restricted to the narrow round of social life? Shall they be directed to church, or charity, or reform work, for which they may have neither taste nor capacity? Shall they be forbidden any kind of busi-

ness because they will take the bread out of the mouth of some poor woman? Why, then, such commendation when the *son* of a Vanderbilt, a Rockefeller, or a Morgan enters actively into business pursuits? Shall only those girls with the good luck to be poor have the chance to develop their talents? How shall the world ever know the capabilities of woman if she is to be restricted rigidly to one line of action except when starvation stares her in the face?

Those girls who have the advantage of a home are not wholly responsible for the low wages of the clerks, factory hands, etc. If all such would withdraw from the market it still would be flooded with those capable only of the simplest kind of cheap labor. There is no such thing as a "family standard" or an "individual standard" of wages. It is gauged only by the service performed. A certain price is paid for a certain kind of work. No employer ever asks a man if he has a family, and, if so, pays him more, or if he is unmarried pays him less. If there were a "family standard" vast numbers of wage-earning women should be paid by it, for they also are supporting others. Women do not "offer themselves cheaply" to employers, they do not underbid, they take all they possibly can get. If they held out for more they would get nothing. Men cannot hope to raise their own wages by driving out this competing element—it has come to stay. They must make common cause with it and both advance together.

If the ranks of bachelors were recruited only from the wage-earning classes there might be some force in the charge that by lowering wages women made it impossible for men to marry. But the proportion of bachelors is equally as large among the well-to-do and wealthy classes. If the per cent. of marriage is decreasing, one of the most conspicuous causes is that women themselves are not so anxious to marry as they used to be. This is not on account of any change, in the nature of woman, but only because with freedom of industrial opportunity has come that greatest of blessings, freedom of choice in marriage. Under the old *régime* the poor girl married because she was obliged to be taken care of; the rich girl because her life was without aim or occupation, and was considered

by herself and everybody else a failure until she secured a husband. The necessity was practically the same in both cases. Now the one is enabled to take care of herself, and the other is permitted to follow whatever pursuit she finds most congenial, and, while each expects to marry, each intends to wait until the husband comes whom she can love, respect and honor until death doth part. Under no other condition should any woman wed. Marriage should bear the same relation to her life that it does to a man's. She should fit herself to be a useful and agreeable member of society; she should select a vocation—the management of the household, a profession, philanthropy, stenography, factory work—whatever she is best adapted for, and follow it cheerfully and conscientiously. When an offer of marriage comes she should balance it carefully against the work she has chosen, and if it bring down the scale, as it never will fail to do when the right man makes it, she should accept it with pride and happiness. Under these circumstances the husband may feel infinitely more honored than if he had been made a choice between two evils—merely preferred to wage-earning or an idle, useless existence in a home which had become wearisome. Nothing could be more demoralizing than the injunction to women to "regard their employment as a necessary evil to be cured in as many cases as possible by marriage." It is a sorry compliment to a man to be taken like a dose of medicine.

As a rule, husband and wife should found a home to be supported by the joint labor of both, his without, hers within—each considered of the same value and the proceeds belonging equally to both. Where there are young children it is most unfortunate for the mother to be compelled to work outside the home. It is even more deplorable for these children themselves to be employed in the mills and factories. There is no difference of opinion on these two points, and a civilization must be striven for which will make such sacrifices unnecessary.

There is not, there never has been, an effort "to create a sentiment that home is no place for a girl." A good home is the one place above all others for a girl, as it is for a boy. It is her rest, her haven, her protection, but this does not

necessarily imply that she must not engage in any work outside its limits. Nevertheless, it is a far stretch of the imagination to assume that all girls "leave the refining atmosphere of a home where they might cultivate the graces" to go into ill-smelling, disease-breeding shops and factories. Very few who are employed in such places have homes of refinement, or even of comfort and decency, and oftentimes the factories and stores are far more cheerful and hygienic than the so-called homes they leave. Women among the poor must work, if they would live honestly, and the drudgery of factory and shop is no harder than that of the washtub, the scrubbing brush and the needle, but seldom does the statistician or sociologist devote his time and sympathy to the victims of the heavy and never-ending household tasks.

Far beyond all questions of physical deterioration in its seriousness, however, is the charge that the ranks of vice are recruited from those women who go outside the home to labor. From many directions comes the demand that women seek the shelter of other people's homes, if they have none of their own, and find safety in housework. But there is no one fact which the statistics demonstrate more unmistakably than that domestic service furnishes a far greater percentage of fallen women than does any other occupation. Helen Campbell makes this unqualified assertion as the result of her thorough researches in several countries, and it is clearly set forth in the reports of Carroll D. Wright and other authorities. In the investigations of Frances A. Kellor, made in various States in 1899 for Chicago University and published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, she states emphatically that "the domestic class furnishes the most criminals," and that "almost all cases of prostitution resulting from seduction come from this class." Of 1,451 women at Blackwell's Island, 1,298 were domestics, 125 housekeepers, practically all the remainder seamstresses, laundresses and women following strictly feminine occupations carried on in the home. The rescue missions and maternity hospitals of all cities tell the same story.

Dr. Albert Leffingwell, the sociologist, in his book on "Illegitimacy," states that only in one country, Scotland,

and for only one year, 1883, could he obtain a record of the occupation of the mothers of illegitimate children. The 10,010 such mothers he found tabulated as follows: Domestic servants, 4,706; factory girls, 2,442; seamstresses, 607; no occupation, 885; without information, 385. In Great Britain the illegitimate births in the 1,000 for five years were thus distributed: London, Liverpool and Birmingham, three of the greatest manufacturing cities in the world, 728 to the 5,000; North Wales, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Shropshire, purely agricultural districts, 1,493 to the 5,000. Do not these statistics prove that, if the object is to preserve the virtue of women, it will be necessary to take them out of domestic service first of all employments?

It is wholly impracticable to draw a dividing line between the employments which are suitable and those which are unsuitable for women. They have just as much right as men have to decide this question for themselves. Their decision may impose some loss upon man, but this will be compensated by the gain to woman. Nobody can decide just where moral or physical risks are involved. Typewriting is generally considered a fitting occupation, and yet it may include both. Journalism is usually looked upon as a suitable calling for women, and yet a short time ago the editor of a prominent periodical devoted many columns to show that it was likely to lead to moral and physical destruction. The countless thousands who have listened to the eloquence of a Willard or an Anthony, and have seen the great reforms they have accomplished, would take issue with him who would characterize them as "stump-speakers, misguided and unseemly," or would name theirs as a calling which makes women "bold, fierce, muscular and brawny in body or mind." It is a mistaken kindness which would doom a woman to inhale the poisonous fumes of "artificial flower-making," or to bend her back over a sewing-machine, or to depend on the poor rewards of the artist's pencil, rather than engage in some employment which will develop "muscle."

It is no new thing, however, for men to insist that women shall remain physically soft and inactive because it pleases their own esthetic taste. This was the constant refrain of the

Rousseaus and Voltaires of a century ago. In that book of advice which the good old English Dr. Gregory left as a "Legacy to my Daughters," toward the close of the eighteenth century, he said: "Should you be so unfortunate as to possess a robust constitution by nature, simulate such sickly delicacy as is necessary to keep up the proper female charm." The Dr. Gregorys of to-day have advanced a step beyond "sickly delicacy," but they implore women to "show their gratitude to men for relieving them of the heavy work by becoming more and more unmistakably and delightfully feminine." There is simply a difference in expression, but none in the sentiment behind it. The progressive portion of mankind, however, is beginning to forget sex occasionally and regard woman as a human being entitled to the same opportunity for healthy physical development as man, and from the kindergarten to the university girls now are receiving thorough, scientific training in athletics. The time is past when women can be frightened by an appeal not to become "muscular and brawny," and if it is not objectionable for them to become so by college athletics and outdoor exercise, it certainly is not wrong for them to develop their muscles by work. If, for the good of the world, it should become necessary to decide between "vegetables and flowers, the ox and the antelope," the flowers and the antelope would have to go. But the world needs all of them. It demands men and women of muscle in some departments, and men and women of mind in others. Even in marriage it would be a great sacrifice to hand over to certain classes of men women "whose strength lies in beauty and gentleness."

Neither can women be frightened at the warning that by engaging in occupations outside the home they decrease their chances of marrying. Whatever brings men and women into close association promotes marriage, which is largely the result of propinquity. Those who remain in the seclusion of home find no rivals so dangerous as those who in various outside employments have an opportunity to meet the men, and whom they continually see marrying not only their fellow workmen, but frequently their employers. The latter, in all kinds of busi-

ness, declare that the greatest objection to employing women is that they marry after a few years' service.

It is not intended to argue that every woman should leave the home and go into business, but only that those who wish to do so shall have the opportunity, and that men shall no longer monopolize the gainful occupations. The pleasure of earning money and of enjoying financial independence is just as sweet to a woman as to a man. If men would look upon the household service performed by the women of their family as a wage-earning occupation, entitled to a fixed remuneration, there would be infinitely less desire on their part to engage in outside work. When, however, they receive only board and lodging, and must ask for every dollar required for clothes and other necessities, they naturally gaze with longing eyes into more fruitful fields of labor. When men cannot afford to pay their daughters or sisters a fixed sum, then at once the argument falls to the ground that "by studying domestic economy women save as much money at home as they can earn in outside occupations."

It may be that in selecting a wife "men want a girl who has not rubbed off the peach-bloom of innocence by exposure to a rough world," but it is not permitted all girls to stay at home and take care of their peach-bloom. Those women who make it the object of life to cultivate "refined allurements and soft blandishments to render themselves desirable to future husbands," are not many degrees removed from their sisters who practice the same arts upon the street with a less permanent object. It is no longer practicable to shut women up within four walls to preserve their virtue, and, instead of demanding a return to that medieval custom, it is the duty of society to recognize the new order, and, through individual effort, public sentiment and law, to improve the conditions which surround wage-earning women; to invest them with every right and privilege possessed by workingmen; and in every possible way help them develop strength of character to resist temptation and to fix a higher standard not only for themselves, but also for the men with whom they come in contact.

Independent. 54: 2691-3. November 13, 1902.

Housework versus Shop and Factories. Mary E. Trueblood.

There is no need to say to any one in this country that housework is the last occupation the intelligent American working girl will seek. If there is any doubt on this point, listen to the conversation of any group of housekeepers or spend a morning at an employment office.

For one trade to be persistently shunned by intelligent workers while the others are overcrowded cannot be an accident, and to find a definite reason for the unpopularity of housework by comparing it with other occupations was the object of the investigation that furnishes the data for this article. In the State of Massachusetts, where this investigation was made, shoe factories, textile mills, department stores and restaurants are the principal industries that attract girls away from housework —hence these were chosen for comparison. The information was not obtained by writing, but by observation and by conversation with the girls at work and at home. This was essential, since my one object was to find out the attitude of the girls toward housework, and to ascertain what satisfaction their own work afforded.

It is an interesting fact that of the five occupations the shops (department stores) contained the highest per cent. of American-born girls, while of the houseworkers considered not one was born in the United States. Ireland furnished the largest number, while the others came from Canada, England and Scotland. Apparently the choice of work was made with little regard to the healthfulness of it, for in housework alone was there no deterioration in strength reported. A few years of work in the mills and factories affects the health of fully half the girls. A sticher in a shoe factory was quite right in saying: "The stitching room will take the bloom out of any girl's cheek." In the textile mills there is a marked contrast between the bright, active girls who are beginning and the dull-faced, lifeless women who have worked a few years. The work in shops and restaurants is wearing, but for the most part the

girls seem to have vitality enough to rebound when the day's work is over. The good health of the houseworkers and waitresses is to be accounted for in part by good food. The former have, as a rule, the same food as the family, the latter take their meals in the restaurants where they are employed.

The following table showing the average weekly income may seem to offer a reason for factory work being preferred, but the difference here indicated is more apparent than real, for in almost all the shoe factories there is a dull season from three to five months of the year, and work in the textile mills varies with times of prosperity and depression:

	Shoe Shops.	Restau- factories.	Tex. mills.	House- work.
Average cash income.....	\$7.52	\$10.45	\$5.38	\$8.35
Food and lodging.....	4.29	4.00	1.56	2.36
Excess	\$3.23	\$6.45	\$3.82	\$5.99
				\$3.99

In shops, restaurants and housework there is little lost working time, so that in the long run it is doubtful if more money is to be made in mills and factories than in the other three occupations. The cost of living for the girls working in textile mills appears small in the table because several of those considered were living in corporation boarding houses, where expenses are exceedingly low. These, however, are not popular, and are gradually disappearing. The houseworker not only earns more than the shop and restaurant girl, but by reason of living in a family she has the opportunity of doing for herself many things that they must pay for. The girls of all occupations understand perfectly that "housework pays well."

The per cent. of savings was largest among houseworkers, as was also the amount of money given for the support of others. The shop girls saved least and also gave least. The difference in expense for necessary clothing and in standards of living accounts for this in large measure. A shop girl wisely remarked: "The question is not how much *can* I save, but how much can I afford to save. I owe something to myself."

As to working hours, the shop girls fare best of all. The average for those considered was 8.2 hours per day, excepting Saturdays in summer, when it was 4.6. For the waitresses the average was 9.5 hours. Where there was Sunday work there

was invariably extra pay. Working hours in mills and factories are limited by law to 58 per week, the arrangement always being such as to give the Saturday half holiday. Houseworkers seldom know the exact number of working hours. The estimates given ranged from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $15\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day. The average was 11.6, and that for seven days in the week instead of for six. Probably one hour should be deducted for meals, but as much or more should be added for the time when the girls were "on call." Without exception there was one day "off" each week—that is, after having worked as long as a full day for the shop, the houseworker was allowed time out from three until ten P. M.

In vacations also the shop girls have the advantage. Half reported from one to two weeks with pay, the others were allowed the same without pay. The Saturday half holiday in summer takes nothing from their wages. A few restaurant girls were given vacations with pay, but most of them, and also the factory and mill workers, were given any length of time desired without pay. In housework there seemed to be no fixed custom in regard to vacations. Some of the girls mentioned length of service as a condition, as was the case in many restaurants and shops. A few had two weeks' vacation with pay.

The difference in intelligence and education in the five occupations was marked. The shoe factory and shop girls were much better educated than the others and also showed greater intelligence and higher standards of living than the mill or house workers. With them a comfortable room and a certain amount of free time for recreation and self-improvement are necessities of life. The night schools and classes in clubs of various kinds afford for all who wish it an opportunity to continue their education. The wish "to know more" was the one expressed more often than any other among these working girls, and the efforts that some were making to educate younger brothers and sisters were nothing short of heroic. Ten hours of work in the textile mills leaves the girls with little strength or ambition for any sort of exertion in the evening. Houseworkers as a class are prevented by lack of time from making use of the means of improvement offered to other working girls. The objection that

they would not make proper use of free evenings even if they had them is neither here nor there. Observation does not give weight to the argument sometimes made that education unfits girls for house workers. It does however, raise their standards and make them unwilling to conform to the traditional requirements of housework. The remedy for dissatisfaction is not to be sought in ignorance, but rather in education that teaches the dignity of labor and gives means for fuller enjoyment to girls whose lives are peculiarly lonely and barren because shut off almost exclusively from relatives and friends and surrounded by people of a different station in life. In shoe factories, shops and restaurants many of the girls seemed to really enjoy their work. No doubt the excitement of a crowd and the association with others doing the same work accounted for it in part. They knew, too, that their work was definite and would end at a fixed time. It was particularly noticeable in these three occupations that the girls respected themselves, their work and their employers. They seemed to feel themselves a part of the commercial world and that they were helping to do a large thing. Among houseworkers it was impossible to detect any feeling that their work was important. Very few seemed satisfied with their employment, but in no case was objection made to the work itself. Those receiving the best pay were often the most dissatisfied. Truly no amount of money can compensate a self-respecting person for the loss of a reasonable amount of free time and independence. No one who is acquainted with the recreations of other working girls—the evenings at a club, a sewing circle, or a neighborhood party, the trolley rides, wheeling parties and excursions into the country or to the seashore—will wonder to hear them say, "We will never give up our evenings and Sundays." This was invariably the first objection given when they spoke of housework. A particularly bright and successful saleswoman said she drifted into the store, but she would prefer housework if it were not for the long and irregular hours. Another who liked the work itself said she would not do it for any one but her mother, for, aside from the long hours, there was more unpleasant contact with the employer than in a shop. The following are the comments of some of the others: "I prefer

housework, but that takes me entirely away from home and takes more time."

"If conditions were right I would rather do housework than anything else, but I would not have a woman say '*my servant*,' referring to me."

"I did housework four years before coming to the restaurant, but I must have independence. I rent a flat and relet rooms; if you have a hen house, just so it is your own, you can take some comfort."

"I came to the restaurant after doing housework thirteen years. I like this much better, for my time is my own and my room; if I wish to have my friends in and serve a cup of tea I can do it."

"Work is heavy, customers are hard to please; but when the store closes I am *free*!"

"I tried housework, but came back to the mill; I will not be at everybody's beck and call."

Very few mentioned the loss of social position as an objection to housework, altho it was occasionally implied. The feeling seemed to be not that the work itself was either degrading or unpleasant, but that a girl must necessarily have lost her self-esteem who would sell all her time but half of one afternoon in each week, who would submit to be called a "servant," who would be willing to receive her friends in somebody's kitchen, and who, instead of learning her trade and being left to do as she had learned, must constantly be subjected to the whim of each new employer.

To summarize the advantages of the houseworker:

The excess of wages above living expenses is greater than for girls in shops and restaurants, and taken from year to year is almost as great as in mills and factories.

The work is more healthful than in mills, factories or shops.

The demand for workers is little affected by prosperous or dull times.

The older and more thoughtful women of all occupations recognize another advantage: Houseworkers are better prepared for contented lives in homes of their own. The other girls not only know little about the care of a house, but they form a taste

for the excitement of numbers that often leads them to continue work after marriage. "The mill is the last place for my girl; housework learns a woman to be a woman," said a weaver, forty years of whose life had been spent in the mill.

The objections to housework seem to be: The hours are long and indefinite. There is invariably Sunday work. Work is not often specialized. Each household has its own method of doing things.

There is no chance to rise to a better place.

There is little opportunity to visit friends, and small satisfaction in receiving them.

The relations with employers seem more irritating than in other occupations. There is a solitude that is the result of continual contact with people with whom they have nothing in common.

In the opinion of working girls the advantages do not weigh against the disadvantages, so that under existing circumstances any attempt to attract intelligent girls to housework seems to be futile.

Independent. 53: 834-7. April 11, 1901.

Employments Unsuitable for Women.

Besides the moral and hygienic tests for woman's work there is one more of superlative importance—that of womanliness. "Male and female created he them;" and male and female we want them to remain, not only physically, but in the higher qualities of mind and character, which are an acquisition of culture. Whatever tends to unsex woman should be frowned on by public opinion, and, if necessary, prohibited by law. The great principle of the division of labor, which is now applied to all human activities, cannot be ignored in the apportionment of work to woman and men. The lowest savages already practiced sexual division of labor, but theirs was not based on natural principles, but on masculine selfishness. The men reserved for themselves the "honorable" employments of war and the chase, which they looked on as sport, while their wives

and daughters were obliged not only to care for the children and to do the cooking, but to undertake all the hard work of grinding corn, tilling the fields, carrying home the game, cutting and bringing in wood, moving the camp, building huts, and a hundred other things that the men should have done. The result of this cruel doubling of their burdens was that they aged prematurely and lost all traces of such feminine beauty and charm as they might have otherwise developed. They were female men. To the savage the womanly woman was unknown. He was too coarse to appreciate the charms of true femininity.

With a topsy-turviness worthy of a Japanese the impression has been created that the "emancipation of woman" means the liberty to compete with men in all employments whatever. In reality, it means her liberation from the masculine and masculinizing work she was formerly compelled to do. The change came slowly—to-day millions of European women are still obliged to till the fields—but it came, in proportion as men became refined enough to appreciate genuine womanly qualities; and the emancipated women showed their gratitude by becoming more and more unmistakably and delightfully feminine. Having once discovered the charm of the eternal womanly, men will never allow it to be taken away again, to please a lot of half-women who are clamoring for what they illogically call their "rights." Men will find a way of making these misguided persons understand that it is as unseemly for them to be—as many of them are now—butchers, hunters, carpenters, barbers, stump speakers, iron and steel workers, miners, etc., as it would be for them to try to take the places of our soldiers, sailors, firemen, mail carriers and policemen. All employments which make women bold, fierce, muscular, brawny in body or mind, will be more and more rigidly tabooed as unwomanly. Woman's strength lies in beauty and gentleness, not in muscle. In literature, journalism, art, science (especially electric); in education, charity work, dressmaking; in typewriting (where there is no moral risk), watchmaking, jewelers' work, flower raising or making, and a hundred

other branches of work that require no muscular toil, women and girls have all the opportunities for earning a living they need. Let us by all means throw open to them all employments in which their health, their purity and their womanliness do not suffer; but let this be regarded, not as a special privilege and an indication of social progress, but as a necessary evil, to be cured in as many cases as possible by marriage or some other way of bringing the workers back to their deserted homes.

Independent. 61: 674-81. September 20, 1906.

Some New Adjustments for Women. Simon N. Patten.

My recent article on the social value of married women in industry called forth a number of letters from women in evident alarm lest discussion should expose the home-making class to dangerous modifications. The protests were surprising, because of the personal emotion in them, and because they were aimed at some subjective terror wide of my mark. It had been far from my purpose to invade any field now visible in the social landscape; my intention was the simple one of pointing out how the formal sanction of the place married women are taking in work would not be a revolutionary step, but a helpful recognition that energy must transmute itself in order that the parts may remain pliant in the growing social organism.

I pointed to the familiar parallelism between the women of a past era who succeeded in being well-homed by working for their board, and the women of certain groups in this epoch, who will only succeed in housing themselves properly if they know how to work for wages. It was claimed that the evil of a growing celibate class would be reduced if its youthful members, who are now intimidated by the heavy expenses of marriage, were encouraged by public opinion to pay its cost from a joint income earned by the production of commodities. The services of the young wife would then be as

clearly focussed as those of the pioneer bride of agricultural days when she undertook home and farm industries. Emphasis was laid upon the bad ethics of a situation in which new forces are ineffectively marshaled under standards which must induce deceit, waste and the jar of maladjustments between the ideals of rural American and the antipodal necessities of the tenement-house population. The increasing numbers of unmarried workers tend to hold wages near the level of subsistence for single people, so that employers will not be forced by lack of supply to pay rates which will maintain families. In conclusion it was suggested that the emerging civilization of the un-American factory and tenement world might be hastened more soundly by giving it immediate access to air, light, good food and simple esthetics in the home than by removing the young wife from her paid work and returning her to the semi-idleness of a constricted dwelling already largely de-industrialized. A final tentative assumption fixed an income of \$20 a week, earned by the husband, as the level whereon the wife might profitably withdraw from industry; she would have scope there to exercise judgment, and a decent opportunity to rear children without besetting fears.

It was evident, however, that some women readers were affronted, shocked and confused. The discussion became, in some way, a personal affair, and they found in it a tacit criticism of the conduct of their own lives which they countered with the story of individual circumstances and a half-contemptuous, half-satirical, query how they themselves could be molded to such a theory of function. They made a passionate defense of individual status, and in consequence failed to give the wider application to other times and classes than their own. This was due in part to the natural tendency to interpret a general tenet in terms of personal experience; in part to the vague feeling that strange men have no right to intrude upon that which is withdrawn from world concern, as they instinctively regard their wifely and motherly relations to be; and in part to the clear sight of irreducible obstacles around which great numbers of contemporary women can never find a way.

The situation itself gives abundant cause for such emotional and logical confusion; for while it may be theoretically apparent that old modes of energy cannot continue to do the new kinds of work, and while it is granted that imperfect adaptations are already wasting valuable material in the form of the supported leisure woman, yet it is equally true that the direct application of the general fact to the typical instances cited by the stirred letter-writers brings forth blunder, misapprehension and fruitless discontent. There is added error, in fitting the advantages of paid work, which are manifest when applied to the women of one group, to those of quite a different economic order. But the critics failed to find in their own blurring of directions, one of the roads to the *impasse* where they ended, and from which they impugned the author's motives, good faith and knowledge.

The field might be summarily cleared for discussion, however, by broadly fixing the economic distinctions between the three kinds of women in America. One is the leisure woman, who can pay from some other person's purse for the routine services of daily life; one is the hard-working mother of American descent moved by New England traditions; and the third is the alien tenement dweller unable to conform to type or to create it, because the conditions which molded the old have gone, and the new are still amorphous. The surplus energy of the leisure woman of the past generation channeled her home; she moved about in it, her useless white apron a mark of established opulence, packing it with preserved foods and superfluous needlework. She exists everywhere to-day, but she has ceased to be chief exponent of full-blooded vitality seeking a merely enjoyable outlet. The fancy apron is discarded as a badge of aristocracy; and the pent strength of the lady which it symbolized turns to courses that flow away from the mechanical administration of the home. In a more frankly physical and pleasure-seeking form, the currents of vigor give fresh distinction to the wide-ranging, out-of-door "selfish" woman; or they stimulate to the altruism of direct civic in-

terests and those political occupations which have hitherto been assumed by the Primrose women of English nobility.

In America a spirit that may be called cosmopolitan, in contrast with that which exhausts itself within the four walls of home, animates the well-nourished, successful class. House-keeping must become a matter of wards and precincts if it is to satisfy the craving for motion. The dominant woman is athletic, and seeks prestige in following sports like automobil-ing, golf, riding and walking; often she indulges in the half sentimental pleasures of handicrafts that belonged to medieval Italy or aboriginal Mexico, and the practice of a mild esthetics that relieves idle muscles. These women are highly co-ordinated, with a developed sense of beauty and an ability to perform fine and varied, but not heavy tasks. Industry, with today's rude surroundings, opens no avenue to the exercise of their delicate and nervous powers; nor could the factory process reawaken their powerful motives or redirect their primitive zest of life, now obscured by the sudden phenomena of leisure. Their new vehicles for ancient energies will be found in philanthropy, politics, municipal government, child saving—in that social work for the furtherance of which these women are so rapidly multiplying associations and clubs.

The failure to consider this class quite apart from the second group is at the base of the general reluctance to grant that the admission of married women to industry is either ethical or practical, and it serves also to explain the particular rancor which induced the letter writers variously to sign themselves "A. Leisure Woman" with five children, or other clinching duties sarcastically itemized in a note of challenge. They plainly belonged, however, to the large majority of middle-aged and elderly wives and mothers of families striving to maintain American standards on incomes bounded loosely by \$900 and \$1,500; who continue to be regarded, from the vantage of numbers and the sanction of tradition, as the embodiment of the genius of home, altho they have a lessening influence upon the affairs of the republic. They cherish as ardently as the pioneer village woman who was nurse, seamstress,

midwife, garden maker and watcher with the dead, the conviction that their spiritual value to their dependents lie in service-altruism. The end they seek is the influence for good which they may acquire over husband and children by performing with their own hands—which are at the same time both dedicated and amateur—the unsalaried functions of cook, laundress and dressmaker. These homemaker's tasks have been coincident so long with the woman's exercise of spiritual authority that she cherishes them as the very medium of it, without which it could not be made potent. The wife trembles to grant that she practices her service-altruism for the sake of the concrete product it brings forth; whether she is producer, consumer or distributor of goods is of small moment to her even when she becomes too burdened and bewildered by the inert mass of her product to hold aloft its symbol. Yet she reconciles herself afresh to ill-conditioned work for the sake of its high mission, and rejoices that her willingness to sacrifice herself without complaint or query will benefit her family more truly than could her administration of income earned by specialized and more expert labor.

The contrast between income-altruism and service-altruism can mean little, however, to the middle-aged mother of the present, for her situation robs it of its pith; her lot is irrevocably fixed in the field bounded by the latter, and she cannot rearrange her activities, even if she should conceive that her income-values might exceed her sacrifice utility. "Here am I, placed so and so; what can you do about it?" she seems to say, with an angry loyalty to her estate. One can do nothing. Her influence must continue to be won in ways so painfully laborious that they entail self-subordination and destroy self-expression. She must be cheered to continue, in the face of the truth that her kind of home building becomes less and less effective when it is compared with efficiency in other departments of world's work. As agencies outside her home begin to do her work better than she can, her methods, in the natural course of events, become obsolete, and she struggles for her successes with tools which command less respect from her group than they did

when their use impressed husband and children with her competence and mastery of resource. Thru her working years she must apparently continue to be "tired and miserable," as many of the letter-writers admitted themselves chronically to be. In a word, she is good, unflagging, idealistic, maintaining the influence that is her highest aspiration with increasing disadvantages from which it is well nigh impossible to disentangle any given individual.

Her affairs are frequently complicated further by her husband, who is likely to belong to the class that pours forth enormous numbers of half equipped, half energized men. Her typical mate is of the economic rank between those of the day laborer and the business man of initiative and independent movement—the grade recruited with clerks, stenographers and salesmen—indifferently trained, perfunctory people, absent-mindedly following routine ways. Task for task, they are inferior to their wives, for they do not steadily care to maintain high traditions, to gauge themselves at the last notch of their engine. They are slovenly when neatness would increase their value, and wastefully careless in execution when precision would follow concentration of thought. Industrial shiftlessness condemns the wife to a hopeless round of harder work than the man will ever do.

It may have been such a pair who despatched a letter written by the wife in a firm, smooth hand, soundly taking me to task for advocating a course which apparently necessitated leaving the breakfast dishes unwashed for some homes, serving cold lunches to the children, and "supplementing a college course with factory work." A man who would suggest these possibilities must be, she concluded, not only an absolute ignoramus upon the subject of women's duties, but a woman-hater as well. Energy, anger and a first-hand knowledge of hard work breathed from her pages, but she signed herself "A Leisure Woman." Beneath her clear, characterful signature was written in a vague and crooked chirography: "I agree with the opinion of A Leisure Woman. A Hard-working Man." Nevertheless we suspect that not the least of the adverse circumstances binding this explicit person to a static lot is her corroboratory husband.

We cannot answer the detailed questions of the woman who

may be called one of the closed records of her times; but it is possible to plant within her mind the idea that the necessity of income in establishing a capacious, expansive home will loom larger in her daughter's life than it has in her own. The dynamic impulse of the family centers about the children; and when it is shown to the mother that service-altruism will not command light, air, and pure water, the new cost of which has deprived many homes of them, she will concede that securing them by one means, when another fails, is a wife and mother function. An advance is made if the "old-fashioned mother" will project her daughter into the future: a genuine educational success is registered when she is willing that the parallel ideals of service-altruism and income-altruism should be presented to her girl's mind as equally dignified and admirable phases of endeavor. It is bare justice to the young woman born into this era of open doors, of franchises, of industry eased by the public vigilance over human rights, to be given an opportunity to measure the values to her group of the two courses. It should be an experiment in ethics to guide her when her marriage has made her the nucleus of a new family.

Will the daughter of a \$1,200 clerk carry the family standard farther forward if she helps her mother with the washing and cooking, or if she earns \$5 a week, and what will be the differing effects upon her character? At the end of six months which essay will have netted the greatest general satisfaction? Diverse considerations, separated points of view, will make the judgment difficult; but all education is an affair of indeterminate quantities, and the manual training of the public school, or the business course of the university boy, is no more susceptible of exact estimate than are the comparative benefits of a year divided experimentally between domestic and industrial practices. As some parents latterly are giving freedom of choice among religious denominations to their maturing children, so might others rear their daughters with the option of income or of service-altruism. Within the framework of a judgment thus built to hold riper years, the married woman at least will be released from the fears of womanly conduct in the exercise of wifely and motherly love.

There are, in fact, a large number of girls who are now working in factories and giving their pay envelopes to their mothers without raising the issue of their own prior rights therein; but the vital point of difference between this general course among the girls of the patriarchal tradition—like the Jews—and the educational idea, is that the girl ceases to do industrial work when she marries, as unquestioningly as she gave her income to her parents to the very eve of her wedding. It does not occur to her that she can cross the bridge and follow the usages of one set of obligations into another country, the general features of which are not at first markedly different from those she left. Custom, on the one hand, gives her excellent standing as an unmarried producer who forfeits thereby none of the sacred family bonds, because necessity of livelihood, convenience and the obvious rewards have wrought out a course of action suitable to the industrial circumstance of the day; but, on the other hand, custom, molded by totally unlike conditions of yesterday, becomes all at once potent to arrest this evolution by artificial and extraneous means. The daughter of a man who earns \$10 a week may help him with the commodity he needs most—money; she is, in fact, expected to help him, and is thought a trifler if she shirks; but the bride of a man who earns \$10 must cease to forward him in the same way. The women actually so placed are overcoming obstacles with the cordial appreciation of their neighbors and without loosening any of the powerful and beautiful ties formed by centuries of family tradition. It may be safe to say, moreover, that the family organization of such a group is subjected to less strain than that in which the unspecializing mother tries to maintain her daughters as non-productive consumers.

The over-developed altruist repeats her familiar abnegations of self: "I want my girls to have a good time while they are young," and "They will never have another chance to enjoy themselves, so I intend they shall do it now." She toils, therefore, at the tasks which, by implication, become drudgeries to be evaded until marriage compels them. Sequences are broken, and in the end insidious differences of motives arise, germinating unhappiness. A girl in an Iowa village, twenty years ago, was "shielded" from formal occupations by such a mother. In lieu of it she

neither handled money nor exercised judgment in determining the flow of income for family ends. Her upbringing was but the amiable expression of a mother's half-conscious revolt, ending badly when the moment of the daughter's constructive activity approached. After two years of her own married life, she reproached her mother for a course that had placed her, too, in the bottomless plight. The older woman was deeply grieved at the ingratitude which forgot her own weary excesses in toil, and the breach was long in closing. The futility of sacrifice which does not undermine the causes that produced it, is evident in this commonplace incident, as well as the fact that the moral education of the girl was subordinated to the over-moralization of the mother.

An ethical training with core and purpose must take cognizance of tomorrow's outlook, and project the girl's course there instead of tracing it by yesterday's record; and she may be taught to be as nobly unselfish in the devotion of her earnings to the family progress as she has been in the consecration of her hands. With the idea of ampler comforts and culture as fundamental necessities in the home—not to be offset by extra household labor by the wife—women will be less likely than they are at present to submit to low levels by marrying inefficient men. She will demand of her mate the competence that gives access to the lavish resources of the world, for she will perceive that the successive divisions of labor in society make it less and less worth while for her to help by rendering varied services in kind.

The first class of women defined here is being molded by a certain dynamics—a force that ranges forward toward emerging goals; the second is held by a static power—more static than that which has long enveloped the poor below, for it is immobilized both by its conditions and its principles of being; it is in the third class that the old ideal lies, because its roots were left in Europe, and it is there also that new conditions are inchoate because they are the ferment of economic changes. The wage earner, rigidly environed by factory and tenement walls, is ripe and plastic material for extra-class influences to work upon. The youthful foreigner is not only less tenacious of ideas than the rooted middle-class man, but he can be lifted more rapidly by the revolu-

tionary productive processes of which he is the essential tool. Should he be molded to the customs of the distributing classes above him, which are in turn imitative of the aristocracies, and must his wife conform to the sacred traditions of the Pilgrim mothers in order to be virtuous and profitable? There is a matter-of-course opinion that the new American ought to be governed by a code she does not understand, and that it is possible for her to live as productively in a three-room flat as the Puritan lived in a cabin. What exits of energy has she there? Mechanisms are closing those of household labor, unless she makes herself active by failing to use them; public education and organized recreation are taking away her children. It is true that she performs her home-making tasks with deplorable inefficiency and time-devouring lack of system, but when she has been taught to do them well she will have more hours, more strength and more intelligence for twentieth century exertions.

One of the critical letters referred to the danger of hasty breakfasts and delicatessen foods if married women should "leave home." The writer does not know that poverty has prevented the general custom of gathering about a spread table, and that the immigrant's breakfast is a bowl full of poor tea or coffee, with bread and briny fish or oily stew. The American breakfast of hot breads, meat and potatoes is one which the industrialist would not adopt if he could afford it. It is too laboriously prepared. At an increased cost over the present it is possible, however, to establish a standard meal of prepared cereals and a variety of factory cooked foods which would be a gain for the consumer. Yet that advance is slight in comparison with the recent proposals of boards of education to feed school children by skilled processes, at a minimum price. It will be difficult indeed for the individual mother to serve her children as adequately in the tenement as the socialized school can in its sanitary restaurant.

We cannot turn toward the past. The tenement pioneer will not make her children's clothes, or nurse them in illness, or play with them in their kindergarten years, or direct their leisure and their mental unfolding; nor would we reinvest her with these functions—the American city performs them with facility incomparably greater than her own. If she was a skilful crafts-

man in Europe, as is frequently the case, it is unlikely that she can bequeath her art to her children here. A rarely fortunate circumstance may enable her to, but the total gain from her instruction is not commensurate with the impressive results obtained, for instance, last summer by the vacation schools of Chicago. The mother cannot give such brilliant, solid training; she can earn it for them by repaying to society the cost of the child in the hospital, where he can be most safely born; in the day nursery, where he can be wisely fed; in the kindergarten, where his hands are most scientifically directed, and so on to the upper grades of education, for which we no longer hold the mother directly responsible.

As she exists in this generation, two courses of constructive activity are open to her whereby she can render a slight return for these services. They are the sweat shop and the factory, thru whose doors she is pouring without intelligible directions and that protection for the lack of which she works almost as badly there as she does at home, paying a heavy price in vitality and *morale*. In the sweat shop she is shamefully exploited; in the factory she is overworked for the want of organization and a social principle. But none of the raw and glaring evils about her is yet classed with those time-honored, respected maladjustments from which we argue that nobility of character is to be extracted. The novel pains of these spring from a faulty transition to new forms rather than from the decay of the old, and they may be immediately eased by social supervision over the rights of the industrially weak. The manufacture of goods at home, if it ever benefited any but the exploiting manufacturers, ought now to be abolished on the charge that by its nature it must encroach upon the light, air and space of home, and that control of leisure which it is the very purpose of the woman to secure as the return for her work. Home labor is sweat-shop labor. It defeats the end of the woman's work and robs it of reward, becoming a dangerous and disintegrating form thru which a higher standard of living cannot be attained. She must move into the factory—the factory regarded as a public utility and regulated for the general welfare as the streets are cleaned for the city's healthfulness. The industrial plant gov-

erned by law—which shall tend toward greater strictness—is the first and most broadly inclusive means of co-ordinating the elementary economic virtues in adult men and women. Drill in the habits of order, punctuality and cleanliness brings them forth ultimately as acquired qualities that result in a crude homogeneity, a rough approximation to type. Finally, the large group becomes standardized by the extension of the simple, primary virtues to the home life and their practice in the community. It is the immediate and practicable duty of social morality to supervise the areas of production, to federalize them if need be, to bulwark the citizens of an industrial republic. Radical provisions will undoubtedly be necessary to safeguard the hard-won rights of the swelling numbers of women in factories, but fresh protection to any class is customarily decried as dangerous without proving so.

Mrs. Florence Kelley has admirably discussed the new universal "right to leisure," but I would go further and extend it especially to the married woman. Her leisure must be even more carefully preserved than that of men, by processes of exclusion like those which surround the school child licensed to work for a few hours a day. We should clearly recognize that her home periods must be as long as those of her children, longer than her husband's, and that she must have a store of energy left with which to accomplish her home duties. The importance of her leisure, after she has attained a quota of managerial ability, is second only to that of the child, for morality is made by the right use of non-working time more effectively than by the narrow routine of toil. The woman as producer in her home has only disorganized the leisure of her trade; as outside producer she will do much toward organizing it, because her presence will hasten society's recognition of its inherent right to fix the hours of factory work by legislative enactment. Mrs. Kelley has drawn a list of minimum requirements that should be the basis of a national labor law. Some one else should outline on as sound an economic basis, a structure wherein women may utilize themselves under guarantees of liberty and health. The factory day and the school day ought to be coincident, the number of working days should be less than that of men, and, in general, their pe-

cular functions in nature should be as accurately observed in the broad field of production as are the aptitudes of the human hand in determining the shape of a machine designed for a particular corner of it.

The removal of children from industry and the protection of women at work are both methods of raising their planes of citizenship and of preserving the threatened home by a series of adjustments. It is not possible to adapt a stalwart, surging civilization like ours to any institution; if the institution does not follow it must disappear. The home ideal of the tenement wage-earner cries alone for rehabilitation, the exigencies of men having blurred and dimmed it. Yet, like the concept of liberty, realized thru a body of law fixing the political rights of the citizen as voter, the concept of home may be made expressive thru a code defining the industrial rights of the citizen as worker. Public opinion alone is necessary to secure a charter for the feeblest producer; neither the divine prerogative of kings nor the "individual liberty of private contract" between a corporation and an illiterate Slav woman can stand against a mobilized public opinion cohering into law.

A change of function naturally accompanies an extension of franchise either to the political man or the industrial woman. The latter may effect a simple co-operation in housework with her neighbor in the next flat, or a few families may gravitate into a labor-saving alliance which will free more members for alternative occupations. The administrative unit is not likely much longer to remain one woman to one tub and one cook-stove. However that may prove to be, public opinion must be pliant to the truths that the peasant woman of the hills feels herself poorly homed in the city tenement, and that her instrument of renovation is not her ancient distaff or hoe or a sole service in kind, but paid labor, specialized, socialized, and an integral part of the evolving civilization of the machine tender—the basal and primitive type upon which at present industrial America depends.

Independent. 61: 952. October 18, 1906.

Legal Working Day of Women.

The Supreme Court of Oregon handed down, on June 26th, a decision sustaining the statute enacted in 1903, which restricted the labor of woman in any factory, laundry or mechanical establishment to ten hours in one day. The statute has been attacked as unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the Illinois decision of 1895 in the case of Ritchie vs. the People being cited in support of the contention against the Oregon law.

Oregon thus follows the good old precedent of Massachusetts, established in 1876, when the Supreme Court of that State made this decision:

"There can be no doubt that such legislation can be maintained either as a health or police regulation, if it were necessary to resort to either of those sources for power. This principle has been so frequently recognized in this commonwealth that reference to the decisions is unnecessary.

Oregon is the third of the trans-Mississippi States to follow Massachusetts in this position. The Supreme Court of Nebraska upheld the statute of 1899 providing that no female shall be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments, hotel or restaurant in this State more than sixty hours during any one week and that ten hours shall constitute a day's labor. The court said:

"Women and children have always to a certain extent been the wards of the State. Women in recent years have been partly emancipated from their common law disabilities. They have now a limited right to contract. They may own property, real and personal, in their own right, and may engage in business on their own account. But they have no voice in the enactment of the laws by which they are governed, and can take no part in municipal affairs. They are unable, by reason of their physical limitations, to endure the same hours of exhaustive labor as may be endured by adult males. Some kinds of work, which may be performed by men without injury to their health would wreck the constitutions and destroy the health of women, and render them incapable of bearing their share of the burdens of the family and the home. The State must be accorded the right to guard and protect women against such a condition; and the law in question, to that extent, conserves the public health and welfare.

The State of Washington, in 1901, followed Nebraska with a similar measure duly upheld by the Supreme Court, which said:

"It is a matter of universal knowledge with all reasonably intelligent people of the present age that continuous standing on the feet by women for a great many consecutive hours is deleterious to their health. It must logically follow that that which would deleteriously affect any great number of women, who are the mothers of the succeeding generations, must necessarily affect the public welfare and the public morals. Law is, or ought to be, a progressive science. While the principles of justice are immutable, changing conditions of society and the evolution of employment make a change in the application of principles absolutely necessary to an intelligent administration of government."

This third repudiation of the authority of the Illinois Supreme Court as affording a precedent to all limitation of the hours of labor of women is of great importance, not alone to the women of Oregon, but to all women who earn their living in this country. For it indicates that the Supreme Courts of the States are to follow the line of reasoning laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States eighteen months after the Illinois decision was promulgated. In Holden vs. Hardy, decided at Washington in February, 1897, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the hours of labor of men employed in mines, factories and smelters may be restricted to eight in one day and forty-eight in one week.

The decision was, of course, in no way retroactive, and did not in any degree reverse the Illinois decision. Women in Illinois may, therefore, still be required to work, on the pain of dismissal, as long as they can be kept awake, or until they faint at their task, as has happened more than once since the decision in the case of Ritchie vs. the People. But the Federal decision made it easier for all courts having to do with similar statutes to differ from the Illinois decision and revert to the humane and enlightened precedent established long ago by Massachusetts.

It is a strange chapter in industrial history which records the fact that the New York statute upon this important subject, altho enacted twenty years ago, has never until the present year been enforced with sufficient vigor to incite any employer to test its constitutionality.

Nineteenth Century. 58: 570-82. October, 1905.

True Foundations of Empire: the Home and the Workshop.

Violet R. Markham.

The characteristics of a town or district in which married women are largely engaged in factory work repeat themselves with such monotonous regularity that they may be formulated without difficulty. In the first place we are confronted with severe poverty, a poverty from the pressure of which the married drudges, toil they ever so hard, appear to know no respite; next, we find a standard of domestic life so debased that every amenity of home is trodden under foot; third, the rate of infant mortality will be abnormally high; fourth, the standard of self-respect among the men will be proportionately low. Perhaps this fourth and last feature goes to the root of the whole matter. A nation, at least a great nation, must have certain ideals by which to live if it hopes to prosper in the world. Such prosperity is not to be obtained through the violation of the primary and natural law that the man is to work for wife and child, and the woman is to be the guardian of the home. If these relations are inverted; if the responsibility of the man as bread-winner is broken down, if he adopts the easy doctrine that less effort on his part is necessary since his wife's wages may be counted upon to make up any deficiency in his own, what social conditions are likely to result from such a state of affairs? A plain answer to this question is to be found in the statistics of infant mortality which are forthcoming from the districts in which women's work is an economic feature. Such statistics, grievous though they are, speak only of those who die. They are silent as to the gamut of misery among those who live—the unfit children of toil—weary women—drugged, neglected, demoralised, and bereft of every influence which makes for health of mind and body. Left to the precarious care of friends and neighbours when the mother leaves the four weeks' old baby to drag herself

back to the factory, such children who survive, reared on bread, gin, and sugar, struggle through a miserable infancy, in many cases to swell the ranks ultimately of the pauper and criminal classes. The general circumstances of the family are as lamentable as those of the children. If the greatness of any nation is proportionate to the strength of its family life—and this proposition seems indisputable—it is deplorable to realise the character of any home from which the wife is absent all day and to which she returns in the evening, not for rest but to commence her belated housework. Little wonder that from the discomforts of such an establishment the husband seeks refuge in the nearest public-house, and that the wife herself knows no better place of relaxation. And, nevertheless, many good people complain that children drawn from such a home are not converted by the elementary schools into models of wisdom and admirable behaviour, and when such hopeless victims sink into the submerged tenth, querulously assert that it is all the result of education. Thus from generation to generation the vicious circle repeats itself, and for parents and children alike the dreary round of existence passes by, unrelieved by the blessings, unsanctified by the joys which wealth cannot give and poverty alone cannot take away. Meanwhile, the State looks on with a somewhat uneasy official conscience, but it has a direct concern in the matter after all. Empires are not built up on the offspring of denaturalised parents. Flat chests and rickety limbs will not hold adequate converse with the enemy at the gate. The physical deterioration and high infant mortality which mark the areas of women's labour are matters which sooner or later will be judged in their right perspective. Then perhaps the remedy will be forthcoming.

'But what of the hardships you would cause by forbidding the mother to work?' is the cry which is always raised when attention is drawn to these facts. 'Granted that her lot and the lot of her children is bad; without her wages the family would starve.' The reply to such a contention is that the perpetuation of a radically unsound economic position can in

the long run benefit nobody. In the most literal as in the highest sense, the soundest economic position for the married woman is the home, not the factory. It is to the advantage of everyone concerned, herself, her husband, her children, the State, that she should be kept in it. A man who is not in a position to support a wife and family should receive no assistance from public opinion in taking these responsibilities upon himself, least of all the public opinion which tolerates the wife as wage-earner. It is quite possible to arrive at a state of affairs in which women do the skilled and men the unskilled labour, thus completely reversing the position of bread-winner. But when Nature's Salic Law is thus set at defiance the industry of a district is in an inverted position, and the evils described above will grow and accumulate to an alarming degree. The town of Dundee affords a striking example of this contention, and is an object-lesson abounding in painful conclusions. Dundee, the centre of the jute industry, employs about 40,000 persons in the manufacture of this fibre; 30,000 of this total are women, who are engaged in both the skilled and unskilled branches of the jute trade. The skilled operatives receive fairly good wages and work under good conditions. The preparation and spinning of jute, on the contrary—most of which is unskilled work—is a very dirty and disagreeable process. The objectionable character of this branch of the industry is at once reflected in the status of the workers, among whom it is not surprising to find a very low standard prevalent, physical, moral, and social. All the evils resulting from the employment of female labour to which attention has been drawn in the preceding paragraphs figure largely in this town. The infantile death-rate is high, and the grievous neglect of young children consequent on the absence of their mothers in factories bears its inevitable fruit of delicacy and disease among those who survive. The investigations recently undertaken by the Dundee Social Union as regards the medical inspection of school children have brought to light most serious statistics of retarded development and stunted growth. It is not surprising, therefore, to

find that Sir Archibald Hunter stated in a speech some time since that the worst recruits he had come across were drawn from the district of Dundee. Worst of all, the men who are accustomed to their womenkind undertaking the skilled labour of the jute trade accept the situation with nonchalance, and acquiesce in these conditions of labour fraught with such serious consequences to themselves and their families. It is as an illustration on a large scale of evils which are common elsewhere in a minor degree that this town is remarkable. The conclusion of course is irresistible—the employment of married women in factories in any considerable numbers is hostile to the health, morality, and sobriety of a district.

All the arguments which tell against child labor apply with double force to the employment of mothers. With the latter as with the former, such wages help to create and perpetuate the poverty they are supposed to relieve. But the best proof that the labour of married women, as of children, in factories rests on an artificial basis, and too often panders to the most worthless elements in society, is the fact that in districts where the standard of masculine self-respect is high the men themselves will not tolerate it.

North American Review, 178: 751-60. May, 1904.

Truth About Woman in Industry. Flora McDonald Thompson.

The common assumption is that by engaging in men's work women secure independence. That there are upwards of 3,000,000 women wage-earners in the United States, that women have entered all classes of occupation, that women form seventeen per cent. of the industrial strength of the people, are facts popularly quoted as indicating the economic progression of the sex. Now, the truth of the matter, as statistics show, is that the woman wage-earner is under one aspect an object of charity, under another an economic pervert, under another a social menace.

As a charity, she is both costly and hopeless. Why she is a hopeless charity will appear later from a consideration of the working woman as she affects wages and society. That she is a charity, and a costly one, is shown by the nature and cost of all special investigations and remedial legislation in her behalf, not to speak of explicit private charity devoted to her needs—the numerous institutions in cities everywhere which provide cheap food and lodgings and otherwise assist the working woman in her desperate struggle for existence.

The great bulk of official statistics concerning woman in industry shows no more than a census of women workers. But when the statistician is moved to make particular inquiries concerning these workers, it is always in the spirit of pity and benevolence—a spirit of gallantry and compassion aroused by a spectacle of woman's misfortunes. A majority include women and children in the same category of physical and moral wrong, that is to be righted by the providence of men's legislation. The eleventh annual report of the United States Department of Labor and the reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics recognize that even a woman engaged in economic production becomes a definite industrial factor; yet these eminently philosophical reports breathe the tender concern of good men for frail women. They produce data not with reference to the volume of woman's production, its cost, profit or loss in relation to the wealth of the world, but rather to give official information that her work is proper, pleasant, profitable or otherwise in relation to her sex—always in relation to her sex. The statistician never forgets that he is dealing with ladies in production, and, like a true gentleman, he assembles facts accordingly. A report on the working girls of Boston tells us that "some of the girls say men placed in charge of them curse and swear at the girls and treat them very shabbily;" also, with pain vibrating between the lines, the same report states that "in some places girls employed are not allowed to see callers during working hours."

The report of a chief of a Western State Bureau of Labor Statistics shows, with especial clearness, how far apart from

business interests the women wage-earner appeals to the official mind:

"I would recommend that hours of labor for women should not exceed ten hours per day, so that they should not be kept too constantly at work, but have sufficient time to do their sewing, and when work is slack, they might with propriety be let go home to do such housework or needlework as devolves upon them."

The law of the business world, to which woman is unavoidably subject on entering general industry, is not the Golden Rule. It is the law which demands the greatest production at the least cost. Strictly speaking, business has absolutely nothing to do with the humanities—absolutely nothing to do with the individual save as a contributor to the wealth of the nation. In so far as woman's work serves business interests, business conditions inevitably are adjusted to her interests. Injustice to her in this connection is business suicide; it is killing the goose that lays the golden egg. But in so far as she is of trifling importance to business, or in so far as she represents any sort or degree of loss to business, she necessarily is ground under the inflexible rule of business law.

Numerically women wage-earners, including all above ten years of age, are 17.22 per cent. of the industrial population. This numerical strength, however, small as it is, is still less as a force in production because the industrial energy of woman is constantly depleted by marriage. At the age when maturity gives the laborer most power in production, women are withdrawn from the economic into the domestic sphere. Says the Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics: "The great cause that reduces the number of women in industry is marriage. Thus, the permanency of woman in industry is as a class, not as an individual."

In consequence of this, the woman who is a unit of production has no effect other than to confuse economic problems. She eternally eludes classification with reference to the volume of her production and its costs by fitfully disappearing from the economic order as the attraction of sex makes demands upon her. Her aim in industry is not a livelihood, the laborer's aim and the basis of calculation from which economic equations

are formed. She works as a makeshift pending marriage, and thus she tends always to sink to a level with the lowest order of labor, unskilled—the worth of which is reckoned not according to its power, but according to the shifting stress of the necessities of the laborer.

There are, however, other elements than wages which must be considered before we can determine what is the cost of woman's contribution to production and whether or not it pays.

At the outset, there instantly appears increased cost of production in the item of all the conveniences required for women working in factories and business houses. In the better mercantile institutions, these advance from bare necessities to comfort, and even to luxury, in the matter of toilet rooms and lunch rooms, a few proprietors going so far as to serve hot tea, coffee and soup free to employees. These provisions are significant of their economy and purpose, as one is a familiar visitor in toilet rooms of mercantile institutions and daily witnesses one or more female employees stretched on a couch, worn out, sick—thus demonstrating that, as a class, women workers not only increase the cost of production, but diminish its efficiency. The cheapness of woman labor offsets in a measure the increased cost, but such are the demands of marriage, and such the physical unreliability of the sex that to substitute cheap woman labor for men is to substitute a less for a greater efficiency, a fluctuating for a constant force in production—it is, in short, mere moneysaving, not economy.

Moreover, as women engage in men's work, they withdraw an indispensable force from household production, which has the effect of increasing the cost of living while at the same time debasing the value of labor. The wages of women being fixed without reference to the cost of living, they tend, in competing with men, to reduce wages below what it costs to live. Thus, as they abandon the economy of the household for wage-earning, they put labor in the anomalous position of having living expenses increase in inverse ratio to

wages. This is a perversion of the economic law of wages, which have always a tendency to increase as the cost of living increases. Women, however, disturb this relation by engaging in wage-earning, and in this instance they have the particular effect of depleting subsistence. Plainly, if wages are less than the cost of living, labor is poorly sustained—insufficiently nourished. Thus, both directly and indirectly, woman in industry, considered with strict reference to economy, operates both to increase the cost of production and to diminish the efficiency of labor.

Humanitarian reformers have regard only for the fact that sordid wealth and cruel corporations are so wicked as to pay women less wages than men. The economist perceives that women who are under no necessity to labor can be got to work for these small wages, and, knowing that the rate of wages proceeds not from the evil heart of capital, but from certain conditions fixed by economic law, he applies himself to inquire why the price of woman's labor is so low. The cause he discerns in the relations of the sex. By virtue of the legal provisions of marriage, precedent in the family relation, and an inherited aptitude for the work pertaining to the support of life, women can afford to receive less wages than men, because, as a class, it costs them less to live. That some individual husband fails to support his wife, that some individual girl has no father or brother or mother contributing to her support, that some individual woman is as helpless as a man in administering to her creature necessities, does not alter the fact that the wages of women are fixed by the privileges they enjoy under the marriage law, the family precedent and their natural skill in feeding and clothing themselves. A popular error made by persons impressed with the injustice resulting to men from the participation of women in general industry, is to consider this with reference to married women only. But, while marriage alone legally establishes this advantage, the other two factors I have mentioned are no less operative in removing the woman worker from the necessity which governs men of receiving a wage equal to the cost of subsistence. In a report of a special committee appointed in New York to inquire into the con-

dition of 100,000 families dependent in each instance on a woman's average earning of 60 cents a day, it was stated that "the prevailing low wage, inadequate to the support of labor, is due to the fact that, in the establishments employing woman labor, a great majority of the workers are only partly dependent on their earnings for a livelihood." So large a number as 100,000 women, by accident laboring under the necessity of earning a livelihood, were still outnumbered and had their wages fixed by the normal woman—the woman wholly or in part supported by others.

The effect of cheap woman labor is naturally to displace men. The report of the United States Department of Labor shows that exactly as the percentage of women increased in all occupations from 1887 to 1890 the percentage of men decreased. The apparent evil herein resulting is disclaimed by economists who adhere to the principle that cheap labor is to the advantage of production. Horace G. Wadlin, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, says:

"Displacements of men in industry due to advance of women is similar to the effect wrought by the introduction of machinery. It is temporary, and the hardship resulting is also temporary."

This is an error, because woman's wage-earning offers no compensation for the hardship it entails upon men in the benefits of facilitated production such as follows upon the use of machinery. Woman labor has solely the economic effect I have shown—to increase cost and diminish efficiency in production. And this effect is permanent, Mr. Wadlin to the contrary notwithstanding. By marriage the industry of woman is rendered so fitful and elusive of adjustment to economic principle that it defies establishment as a constant force to be counted on, as labor may reckon with machinery. It appears to-day unexpectedly substituting the cheap woman for the higher-priced man, and to-morrow it disappears in matrimony, leaving both its employer and its male rival at a disadvantage, the only definite result it has accomplished being that it has attached a lower wage to the performance of a certain amount of work.

In addition to the evil which woman labor thus imposes upon men, the reduction of men's wages it brings about is attended

with no diminution of men's responsibility. The man remains liable for the support of the family, even though his wife and daughter, competing with him in business, should lower his wages to the starvation point. Woman labor is an economic element as abnormal as convict labor, and it is equally pernicious for the reason that legitimate labor is taxed for its support.

But are the woman's interests served? What has this industrial revolution accomplished for the sex?

It has secured her a competence averaging less than one dollar a day. It has undermined her health. It has trained her in the work of a machine, and made her unskilled in all the labor which supplements the office of wife and mother in the family. It has taken her out of the home.

The mere fact of the average woman's success in industry, as betoken in the wages she receives—less than one dollar a day—in itself is emphatic declaration of the futility of women's undertaking of men's work. The depravity of it appears in its effect upon the woman's physical organism. An exhaustive and scholarly investigation of the relation of men's work to the health of women wage-earners was made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. In this report the conclusion is reached that immature girls should be prohibited by law from working in factories, stores, business institutions of all descriptions, and that the law should have jurisdiction over the labor of all women, to determine, as does the Council of Salubrity in France, what branches of industry a woman may engage in without detriment to her health. In other words, so ill adapted to men's work is her physical constitution proved to be by experience and scientific investigation that a woman's choice of occupation should be legally restricted. The economic reason alleged for this is that the reproductive organs in particular are injured by the strain of men's work, and the human race deteriorates in consequence of woman's impaired physical ability to perform the maternal function.

Beyond the physical ill which results from women doing men's work is an insinuating evil, conducing to economic confusion, which first of all has expression in the modern theory of education for woman. When it is assumed that her destiny is to be

bread-winning, the aim is to fit her with knowledge and special training for men's work. Now, in the design of nature, which neither university courses nor political emancipation can overthrow, the destiny of woman is wifehood, maternity. Abstract these offices from any calculation concerning the sex, and we have the end of the world. It is axiomatic that the first thing indispensable to even the progress of woman is the continuance of the human species. This unavoidable natural office in life determines woman's economic office.

In enumerating the consequences of woman's wage-earning I mentioned that it takes her out of the home. The full significance of this I have learned from my own experience. I can best describe it in egotistic fashion.

Trained to a profession and not trained in household industry, on entering the domestic relation I find my situation to be this: I know next to nothing about domestic economy; I have not money enough at my command to pay for my education in this neglected branch, so I do what seems the only thing possible. I hire a capable woman to manage my house, and by working at my profession I earn money that compensates my family for the money loss entailed by my domestic inefficiency. But when I have thus settled my financial accounts with my family, I am still the cause of irreparable loss to them, and thereby to society. This proceeds from my being under the rule of competition in my professional work. I am subject to business law. An editor will not wait for copy because my child is sick. A newspaper must go to press in spite of the fact that I have a baby in arms. Because I have been falsely educated in serving editors and writing for the press, instead of with a view to the fact that one day I would probably have a baby in arms and a child calling me to work by his bedside, I have had to organize my household labor on a scale of expense which compels me to earn money or precipitate the family into business confusion. Therefore, it is the editor and the paper going to press that I am bound to heed. My baby must develop in the arms of the most capable nurse I can hire; my sick child must do with the service of a hired attendant also. I am in industry. I must abide by its laws. If I neglect my work, there are others ready to seize it. And they will get

it. The editor will not be touched by any exhibition of fine maternal solicitude that may be the occasion of my neglect of business. "Business is business."

This is the horror of wage-earning for woman—it reduces her office in the family to a convenience of business. It makes of home a limited, cooperative boarding-house, where the several members of the family eat, sleep and are otherwise equipped and repaired for the pursuit of their individual interests in life outside. It subordinates the higher interests of the family to the end of money-making. Children are so many ethical problems that seriously embarrass the business success of the mother. They must be organized and disciplined accordingly. The arrangements for their development have always to include and provide for the mother's business obligations. Thus wealth comes to condition human character. Wealth is an indispensable element of human happiness, the acquisition of which is a legitimate, even a virtuous, end of the action of men. But the other elements of human happiness—health, good morals, the beautiful, religion—all these things, without which wealth has no practical value, accrue to society through the immunity from business law (the stress of competition) which woman enjoys in the domestic sphere; and the benefits of these higher elements of happiness are lost to humanity as woman is bound by the conditions of money-making. To be sure, a woman may be free from the necessity of wage-earning and still fail to promote health, morals, beauty and spiritual power. But it is directly in connection with this fact that the greatest evil of encouraging women in so-called economic independence in producing wealth appears. Under the influence of this modern propaganda, advocating "equal rights" to women to engage in men's work, the neglect of woman's naturally appointed sphere in life—the domestic—becomes a virtue. As she departs from the home, and labors outside, it is assumed that thus she enacts the progression of her sex. She thus becomes an item in statistics read before women's clubs to show how the down-trodden ones of earth are advancing. What, thus advancing, she leaves behind, what possibilities in life she forfeits, are questions that do not enter into up-to-date calculations of a woman's success; and thus, where one woman, seriously

from misfortune or mistakenly believing it to be a duty, may undertake men's work without stopping to know what thereby the world loses, a host of women seize upon the theory she exemplifies as a warrant for merely escaping from the obligations of their sex. Married, they refuse to be mothers; mistresses of homes, they refuse to be housewives. All that sort of thing belongs to the lower walks of life for women. And so we get a general tendency in the sex that operates to the overthrow of the family, the destruction of humanity.

That child-bearing should be a reproach to a woman follows logically upon economic independence of the sex. The woman who aims to be a producer of wealth is justifiably to be blamed for bearing children. Maternity interrupts her "career," and the demands of business are such that chances are against her making a success of her children. Very reasonably, in the modern scheme of economics for women, maternity is ridiculous—a fault, an error, even almost a crime. Under normal conditions, however—assuming woman to be fulfilling her natural office in the family—what is the economic effect of an increase of population? The truth is exemplified in the boast of the nation. We take a census of the people, and the greatness of the nation is augmented if the population is found to have increased. Why? Because thus, under normal conditions, trade is stimulated. More units of consumption exist, the demand for production is greater; work increases, prices are better, goods cheaper, wages higher, and units of labor—that is, units of force of production—are also increased. In a word, increased population means increased prosperity.

I have indicated how the so-called economic independence of woman is an injury to business interests and a misfortune to the sex. There is still to be considered the effect of this boasted independence upon men. This effect is most significantly shown in the instance of the wife at work. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics has found that, when the wife earns wages, the husband earns less than other laborers. Seven thousand seven hundred and forty-eight men whose

wives are employed earn less than fifty cents a day. In this comparison I noticed another fact involved, which my observation and experience had previously made known to me. That is, where both husband and wife earn money, the living expenses of the family are equal to the whole sum of the man's earnings. Here appears evidence of how the wife's devotion to business interests fails in conserving the husband's interests. Injustice to the man is clear, because while his wife's earnings may supply to himself and the family what the household loses by her want of application to household pursuits, this is entirely optional with the wife; and I have observed that in general she feels what she earns is her own, to the exclusion of her husband's right in it. She does not perceive that she is in equity bound to yield her husband a right in her earnings equal to the cost of her support, and the amount of the loss or extra expense the household undergoes through her engaging in business outside. If she did so this would economically adjust one of the inequalities attendant upon the wage-earning of women.

But the most potent evil effect upon men resulting from women's wage-earning is described in a letter by a working woman in Rhode Island to the State Bureau of Labor.

"Because women will work for less pay than men, all about me they are employed to the exclusion of men. I often see the wife and mother at work, while the husband walks the street unemployed, manly pride gone, home and children neglected."

At once it will be urged by advocates of woman's right to all work that doubtless the lack of employment of the man was the occasion of the woman's going to work. Perhaps, but it nevertheless should be made clear to women that nothing but eventual disaster results from such a course; that it is better even for the family to suffer want than to entail upon the man the degradation of character imposed upon him when he becomes dependent upon a woman's earnings for support.

Since marriage is a state to which all women in the course of nature, barring accident, attain, it is to effects as determined by marriage that one must look in defining the principles which should govern the action of women. Facts concerning the wage-earning of wives, therefore, do not describe con-

ditions of one class of women only; they represent the final equation of the matter in its bearing upon the sex. Therefore:

The practice of so-called economic independence has achieved for woman financial results indicated in the fact that her average earnings are less than one dollar a day.

The effect of the practice upon economic interests is to lessen efficiency and to increase the cost of production.

The effect upon the woman herself is to impair her physical fitness for the maternal function, and to subject her to a false system of education, which mentally and morally unfit her for her economic office in the family.

The effect upon society is to promote pauperdom, both by increasing the expense of living and by robbing men of the responsibility which gives them force and success in their natural office of dispenser of wealth to the family.

In a word, the truth about woman in industry is, she is a frightful failure.

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Industrial Democracy; Women in Trade Unions. Florence Kelley.

The need of trade unions for women is more poignant to-day in the United States than in any other country. For ours is the only nation in which any court has held that the hours of work of women cannot be limited by statute.

Such a judicial decision places upon the trade unions and other voluntary associations (such as the Consumers' League) the impossible task of protecting women employed in manufacture and commerce from night-work and overwork unaided by Nation or State. In enlightened industrial States protection is afforded by a national law in the interest of the public health, efficiency, and morals.

Portugal and several countries of eastern Europe have deferred legislation upon the hours of work of women. But

in none has a court held it contrary to the constitution so to legislate. England, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, far from intrusting this important task of protecting the public health to the precarious success of labor unions, prohibit outright night-work for women. Beginning in 1907, this will be true of Italy also. Moreover, international agreements are now in process of negotiation among fourteen European States for the purpose of abolishing night-work for women in manufacture.

Our peculiarly urgent need for trade unions for women arises from the adverse decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois (*Ritchie vs. the People*, March 15, 1895) wherein the Court held unconstitutional that statute which restricted the hours of work of women to eight in one day and to forty-eight in one week. If the Constitution of Illinois alone had been invoked, an amendment might have been passed without much loss of time, conferring upon the Legislature the powers which it lacked. The Court, however, invoked the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, holding that women are citizens in the sense that their freedom of contract cannot be interfered with, although in Illinois their political rights as citizens go no further than the power to vote, once in four years, for trustees of the State University of Illinois.

The results of this judicial decision have been far-reaching and sinister, and the end is not yet. In Illinois the immediate effect was that women were required to work all night in a wide variety of occupations. In others they were required to work far into the night. And this was and is perfectly legal. And this is the strongest possible stimulus to the formation of unions among women.

In Chicago the laundries maintain hours which are regularly irregular, Monday being a short day and Friday and Saturday having neither beginning nor ending except as work is completed. It is no rare thing for girls to faint at their work. Girls have been removed from the laundry to the hospital suffering exhaustion after working sixteen, eighteen, and even

twenty hours in heat and dampness in ill-ventilated laundries. At "rush" seasons, despite the efforts of the unions, there is no limit to the hours of work in the garment trades, in candy and paper-box factories, and all industries which center about Christmas.

Children under sixteen years of age cannot legally work after 7 p. m. in Illinois. This law is enforced, and working children go home at that hour even during the holiday season. But at the sixteenth birthday they make the sudden transition to a position in industry deprived of all protection save that afforded by trade unions. Girls then become citizens in the sense that the law affords them no further safety from the demand that they work all night or "lose their job." True, a statute might still be held constitutional which should restrict their hours of labor until their majority. Then, however, all legal protection would be denied them according to the fundamental law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court of Illinois.

Work at night involves injury to the human body by reason of the unavoidable use of artificial light, but far more by reason of the loss of sleep. This can never be made up in the crowded quarters in which working people live. Men who work at night are proverbially under temptation to use stimulants and sedatives. They suffer from exhaustion and nervous disorders unless they are able to take unusually good care of their health. But the wages of women engaged in manufacture never, even in their strongest unions, permit them to take unusually good care of themselves. While, therefore, an occasional exception may be found, it is the rule that a half-year of such work causes nervous breakdown of serious character among women and girls even of stalwart peasant inheritance.

The moral dangers for women and young girls doing work at night are so gross as scarcely to need statement. The midnight lunch hour knows no chaperons. In the milder parts of the year young and old, men and girls, are out of mills and workshops in the dark, warm night. In winter mornings, on the other hand, at four, five, and six o'clock the streets are no safe place for women returning homeward, weary from the long night's work. The saloons, offering brightness, warmth,

cheer, and stimulant, possess a charm absent at other times. The very cold and darkness of early morning remove a restraint powerful by daylight—the fear of the observant neighbor who would disapprove.

Work at night ruins home life. If a widowed mother leaves her children at night, the boys are in the street and the girls are a prey to evil people who may know of the mother's regular absence. If daughters who live at home work at night, their vain effort to sleep by day places restraint upon the family amounting to banishment of noisy younger boys and girls to the street.

It is not accidental that in Chicago since 1895 independent trade unions of women have developed with greater life and persistence than have been found before in industries in which their work does not interlock with the work of men. We are accustomed to unions of men and women together among cigarmakers, boot and shoe workers, cotton spinners and weavers, and garment workers. But in Chicago since the judicial decision in question there have been the unions of the Lady Cracker Packers and the Tick Makers. Even the Sicilian peasant women who do hand-sewing at home under the sweating system have had a union, embracing at one time over one thousand members pledged to a scale of hours and wages. The paper-box makers' union, too, represents an industry employing many children and few men.

Independent, spontaneous unions of women are not to be seen, on any corresponding scale, in Massachusetts, where since 1876 the hours of labor of women have been fixed by statute, first at sixty in one week and latter at fifty-eight. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts having settled, a generation ago, all question as to the power and the duty of the Legislature to regulate the hours of work of women in manufacture, ten o'clock is the limit of their night-work. The serious grievance of the long day and long night being removed, separate unions of women, such as laundry workers, find it hard to maintain a stable existence. But powerful unions of men, by their steady presence, keep women together in the printing trade, cigarmaking, and the textiles. This is, of course, the highest and

most desirable type of union, where men and women are together.

In New York there has been for twenty years upon the statute-books a provision that women shall not work after 9 p. m. in manufacture, or longer than ten hours in one day and sixty hours in one week. The statute is ill drawn, and has not hitherto been vigorously enforced by prosecutions. Yet a restrictive effect is indicated by the fact that several corporations having branches both in New York and Chicago employed women at night in the Western factory, but not in New York. Now, however, under the vigorous prosecutions carried on by Mr. Sherman, the new Commissioner of Labor of New York, cases will be promptly carried to the Court of Appeals involving the validity of the prohibition of work at night.

Will the Court of Appeals follow the time-honored, enlightened precedent of Massachusetts, or the unsupported precedent of Illinois? Upon the answer to this question depends in large measure the future of women's trade unions in New York.

If the Court of Appeals should follow the example of Illinois, turning over to trade unions and other voluntary associations the hopeless task of protecting women from night-work and overwork without support in law for the effort, it will become the urgent duty of all good citizens (pending the necessary amending of the Constitution) to promote unions in every branch of industry in which women are employed. For physical and moral degeneracy attend overwork and night-work on the scale inevitable (when the protective statute is swept away) in the garment trades, the paper-box and confectionery trades, and all industries in which the seasons and the sages of gift-making cause a concentrations of demand.

The second and abiding reason for the maintenance of trade unions among women is the permanent low level of women's wages in manufacture. How far they tend to sink is shown by the presence in industry of the mass of unorganized workers now much discussed under the descriptive term of "three-dollar-a-week girls." If these girls live at home, their contribution to the family income does not cover their board and clothes after

car-fare and lunches have been deducted. If they board, they destroy their health by insufficient food, or are forced to have recourse to charity or dishonor. Moreover, the disproportion between the effort of these unorganized girls and their pay serves as excuse for girls who give over all attempt to support themselves by honest work.

We are shamefully without adequate, trustworthy, official figures showing the earnings of women in industry, in or out of unions. There are, however, sidelights. Thus, in the cigar industry in New York City, of which women have long formed a large part, wages are so low that marriages are contracted with the understanding that the bride is to continue to work in the factory, and the wages of the wife are regularly needed. This fact it is, incidentally, that accounts for many of the women in the cigar-makers' union. They are wives of union men.

So, on a much larger scale, among the textile workers in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, man and wife are in the mills, when, indeed, the man can find work. The crowding of children into mills at the earliest moment allowed by the statute (and often illegally earlier) reduces in the long run the joint wage of parents, even where both are members of strong unions.

In the Southern States, where there are no unions, and children work in textile mills from the age of seven, eight, and nine years, their wage being often included in the lump sum paid to their mother, the smallness of the whole has served as an excuse for repeated cuts in wages forced upon women in the textile unions in Northern branches of the same corporations.

Side-light is afforded also by the Consumers' League. In New York City this organization asks merchants whose names it places upon its White List to comply with its standard. One requirement is that not less than six dollars a week shall be paid to sales-clerks over eighteen years of age who have had one year's experience. No requirement of the standard involves the League in need of more constant watchfulness. None keeps more merchants off the White List. These facts obviously suggest the presence in New York City of a body of young women over eighteen years of age, and of a year or more of experience, who

earn less than this modest pay, such as inexperienced scrub-women receive. The investigations of the League indicate that wages are about one dollar a week less for the same service rendered in the other cities in which there are White Lists (Philadelphia and Cleveland) than in New York.

The strike of the collar-starchers' union at Troy in 1905 brought to light the fact that, in one factory involved, wages had not increased in twenty-nine years. In this time the cost of living has admittedly increased.

The wage question alone, however, seems rarely to incite workingwomen to form trade unions in industries in which their work does not interlock with that of men. It is the combination of overwork and underpay that achieves this.

Any one who imagines that the wage question alone is at the root of the trade union movement among women loses sight of a moral consideration of the highest order. A point to which working people attach great importance is the treatment accorded to employees within the workroom, irrespective of the letter of the law. A corporation may be accurately law-abiding, yet its foreman may be a libertine or a petty tyrant, and it is the foreman who comes into contact with the working women and girls. He incarnates for them the corporation, which remains an abstraction otherwise. Ignorant young girls, at the age of folly, receiving three to six dollars a week, are at the mercy of the foreman and the forewoman under whose direction they work. If these are of bad character, the whole community suffers from their corrupting influence. Where, however, there is a strong, stable, old-established union, the foreman is apt to be of a better type than the man who deals exclusively with inexperienced, unorganized women and girls.

A fourth influence which stimulates the formation of unions among women is the demand, now chiefly confined to working people, for goods bearing the union label. This demand in the overall trade has for many years been strong and steady enough to make it commercially worth while for many manufacturers to use the label. This creates a demand for union employees, and the overall-makers' union has been, perhaps, the best of the unions composed of women. In the same way, the demand for

cigars bearing the union label has created a permanent demand for union cigar-makers. This influence is strongest in trades which produce goods in common use among workingmen. It is, of course, weakest in the case of goods made for the use of men and women who have no interest in the trade union movement. The growth of trade unions among women is obviously least where the workers are very young and the product is sold to people indifferent or hostile to the unions.

These four influences affecting the trade union movement among women being recognized—hours of work, wages, treatment within the workroom, and the demand for the union label—what is the outlook? Before this question can be intelligently answered, another must first be considered. What do we mean by the word *women*, when we speak of women in the trades unions? Who constitute the material of which unions may be formed?

According to the Census of 1900 (Census, 1900, Occupations, cxix) there were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits women and girls in the following groups according to age:

16-20 years	367,041
21-24 years	231,157

Total 16-24 years	598,198
24-34 years	304,626

In other words, the girls in the eight-year period between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four years were well over half a million, and lacked only ten thousand of being twice as numerous as the women in the period next more mature, between twenty-four and thirty-four years. These figures, however, are more favorable than the whole situation throughout all the age periods, although the limits of this article do not permit more than a reference to the census table for students who care to look further into this aspect of the problem.

In Illinois a girl is a child under the statute until her sixteenth birthday. After that she is, from the industrial legal point of view, a woman. When the Lady Cracker Packers' Union invited a resident from Hull House to address their mass-meeting, she was somewhat disconcerted to find the audience composed of

little girls, nominally fourteen years old, fresh from the third, fourth, and fifth grades of the neighboring primary school. A similar invitation from the Paper Box Makers' Union in New York City revealed equally youthful Russian and Italian workers.

This youthful constituency is a shifting body little able to influence working hours and wages in the present, but open to education important for the future. The Lady Cracker Packers mean to escape from their unsatisfying occupation by marriage if possible, otherwise by trying different work requiring as little skill. Nowhere is to be seen among them the steady influence exerted upon boys by the prospect of staying in the trade and the union. The very youth of the girls, however, leaves them open to instruction, and this is the vital point in favor of effort to educate them through union organization. No one would abandon the maintenance of schools and colleges because the children pass through and out of them. No one dreams of leaving the conduct of education to the pupils themselves. Here, then, is the task of the Women's Trade Union League in relation to the young workers, in striving to organize them for the ultimate social and industrial gain derivable from this form of education.

If, during their brief sojourn in the packing industry and among the Lady Cracker Packers, girls find from actual experience that their short working day and their hoped-for "raise" of wages, depend, in part, upon the demand of other people for the union label on the cracker-box, then in future, when they buy crackers, that union label will seem to them to be of greater importance than price or quality.

This statement is made upon no mere theory, but upon observation of working people covering fourteen years. The children who were fourteen years old in 1892 are men and women now, heads of families. In no case known to the writer can a woman be found (within range of a large acquaintance in New York and Chicago) who is still following the employments which in 1892 were "unionized." The workers have changed. But the spirit remains.

This shifting of the wage-earners, while keeping the spirit of the movement, can perhaps be best illustrated by a brief sketch of a faithful worker.

Mrs. Alzina Parsons Stevens, born in Maine somewhat before the middle of the last century, began in early childhood to work in a cotton-mill. On her thirteenth birthday her right hand was caught in the machinery and a finger disabled for life. The quivering, terrified child was treated by a company surgeon, who brutally amputated a part of her finger without using any anæsthetic. Nor was any member of her family called, though they lived near by and a brother or sister would gladly have come to stay with her. More than forty years afterward, a little while before her death, Mrs. Stevens said to the writer: "If my interest in the cause of organized labor had ever flagged, if I had ever been in danger of growing discouraged, the sight of that poor finger and the memory of the horror of that day would have been spur enough." Of great native intelligence, the little mill-girl read everything that came in her way, and years afterward, learned the printer's trade and proof-reading. She was among the first women admitted to the printers' union in Chicago. Later, as editorial writer for the Toledo Bee, she was a Knight of Labor, and while editor and part owner of the Vanguard founded a "Federal Union" composed of women from different occupations. As Assistant State Factory Inspector of Illinois, appointed in 1893, Mrs. Stevens served the cause of working women and children with head, heart, and undaunted spirit.

I have enumerated thus briefly the varied activities of Mrs. Stevens because they illustrate the difficulties which beset women in trade unions. She remained in the cotton-mill only long enough to learn the trade, to take part in a strike of the futile sort characteristic of unorganized girls and children, to suffer mutilation irreparable and lifelong. Then she worked her way into higher occupations.

As editorial writer she served the trade union movement with great versatility. Her pen was unfailing in the service of black-listed employees, of pickets arrested for ignoring Federal injunctions (objects of her liveliest abhorrence), of strike leaders arrested on charges subsequently dismissed (but not until after the strike had been broken) for want of evidence. No one was ever more patient with ignorance, folly, and even dishonesty in inexperienced officials of the unions. For she never forgot that

every union must find its recruits among whatever men, women, and children the employers bring into the industry, whether, like herself, Americans of Pilgrim ancestry, or negro strike-breakers imported under false representations to live in pens in stock-yards under protection of armed Pinkerton men. With equal zeal she labored with Russian Jewish garment workers from sweatshops and with little primary school girls doing their first work in biscuit bakeries.

All told, Mrs. Stevens's service to the unions from within their ranks while actually working at her trade formed, perhaps, a scant thousandth part of her whole service to them as editor, speaker, volunteer organizer, advocate of the union label, and interpreter to the public at large of their aims and methods.

The essential point is that, though women marry out of their trade, though they work up just as men do, though they commonly do not form stable unions (because the individual units of the unions do not stay in one trade), yet, once enlisted, they stay in the movement.

A wife who had been a member of a union before her marriage simply could not urge her husband to break a strike. Rather would she see her children hungry. For, as such a mother said to the writer during a strike of cloak-makers, "Now our living children are hungry, and Hymie is dead for want of the right food in his illness. But if we lose this strike wages will go lower yet; then thousands of children will be hungry and hundreds will die like Hymie. It is better we suffer longer now, and have it over, and win the strike."

The individual union composed of women alone is shifting and unstable, often dissolving and reconstituting itself. Unions of men and women are stronger because men stay far more than women. But the union movement does not lose the allegiance and active help of women who have been organized as girls.

Women are in industry to stay. Their numbers are increasing with bewildering rapidity. In the interest of the public health and morals it is indispensable that they be organized for the protection of their hours of work, their wages, the treatment accorded them in the work-room, and their influence upon the condition of industry as purchasers of the products.

Such are the considerations that have led to the formation of the Women's Trade Union League.

The first effort of the League on a National scale is to get from Congress provision for a thorough investigation of the work of women, embracing not only wages and hours of work, but dangerous occupations, sanitary conditions and surroundings, the extent to which married women are working, and the comprehensive question, concerning both those who are in unions and those who are not, in what degree of health and comfort their wages enable women wage-workers to live.

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Work of Wives. Flora McDonald Thompson.

A decision lately made in the General Sessions Court in New York City has raised the question, Are wives supported by their husbands? A man brought into court on a complaint of having abandoned his wife because, as he said, he could not support a household on his earnings of six dollars a week, was discharged by the judge, who concluded his decision with the admonition, "Let the wife go to work for her living."

It is a popular American notion that the work wives do in the household is not really work. Women so engaged are not counted in United States Labor Reports as being "in industry;" in the United States Census Reports they appear as having no occupation. The whole matter of their situation, as determined for all practical purposes, is neatly set forth by an American political economist thus:

"Only a minority of the population which inhabits the country is actually engaged in economic production. The general rule is that a laborer has a wife and family. The former is lending him material aid by cooking his food and mending his clothes, but there is no need of complicating the matter by considering her as a separate agent of production."

Let us see whether or not that which the wife produces in the home comes within the scope of economic production. What

is she doing there? At a glance, we discern that she is producing things which are actually articles of commerce—manufactured food, manufactured clothing, and that supreme work of domestic art, a poor imitation of which is marketed in hotels, lodging and boarding houses—comfort. Moreover, as buyer for the family and administrator of the family funds, she is performing services as distinctly and essentially related to the production of wealth as any similar work done by men in business houses. But this is not the full extent of the contribution she makes to the wealth of the Nation. She bears children; that is to say, she produces labor.

Wives employed in the home engage in two separate and distinct forms of production—one is purely industrial in character and differs not at all from the production in which men engage; the other is the unique work of women—child-bearing; and the product is, labor. Marriage, therefore, so far from placing wives in the category of a "great majority of the population of a country who are not actually engaged in economic production," confers upon women a dual power in production: wives produce wealth the same as men do, and besides they produce the most indispensable of the requisites of wealth, labor.

It is quite true that the American wife is not regarded as a "separate agent of production," and what are the consequent conditions of her work as compared with conditions of the labor of women wage-earners?

It has been established by law in most civilized countries that the maximum amount of time a woman shall be required to work in industry—work for wages—is sixty hours per week; in the home, the wife, because she works for nothing—or shall one say for love?—may be forced to toil, day after day, all day long, far into the night, and all night, if the convenience of the family shall so be served. The law requires that the shop or factory where women work for wages shall conform to certain standards of health and physical well-being; in consideration of the woman's particular physical needs, she must be provided with a seat so that she may rest properly even while at work, and any occupation deemed threatening to her life is forbidden her. The sanitary condition of the home, the wife's workshop, is a matter of

no public concern; every man's home is his castle; the work done there is his personal affair; the rest of the world may mind its own business. If the wife work in the home in foul air, bending over a wash-tub all day and nursing a sick child all night, that is a family matter; science does not apply here, and here remedial legislation has no mission. By law in England and by custom in France it is decreed that a woman engaged in industry shall not return to work for one month after confinement; the wife at work in a home in the United States may be compelled to resume her accustomed labor the day after, or two or three days after, confinement, and it is to nobody's interest to prevent her. Yet the woman's body is the same; the strain upon her maternity is the same; the burden of her task may be greater in the home than if she labored in industry; and her contribution to wealth is worth money: but because of the sanctity of the home—such sanctity! such homes!—the situation of the wife's labor is ignored on principle; no record is made of the profit and losses of her production; and if the health, happiness, and even the life of the wife go to balance the account, the assumption is that this is quite right and proper; it is a fine instance of the beautiful spirit of devotion to duty which makes wives and mothers toiling in the home so eminently fit to die and go to heaven.

In Great Britain the employment of wives in industry has lately received special attention. In the Government report for the year 1906 on factories and workshops, the Principal Lady Inspector states that the employment in industry of married women is rapidly on the increase, and that, as asserted by many of the women, this is not because these women need to work (at wage-earning), but because they prefer it to housekeeping.

"Throughout the year," says the Principal Lady Inspector, "I have given special attention to the question of the employment of married women. In nearly all the towns visited, from a quiet cathedral town to a large manufacturing city, I obtained the same information, namely, that the employment of married women is rapidly on the increase. A mother suffering from lead-poisoning, visited by me in her home, acknowledged that her husband was in good employment, that there was no need whatever for her to seek a job as was her custom at the factory, and said, 'I do

not need to work, but I do not like staying at home.' Another woman, the mother of several children, whom I had visited during her absence from the factory, said, 'I would rather be at work [in the factory] a hundred times than at home; I get lost at home.' Mrs. F—— is an experienced damask weaver and earns fair wages; her husband is a casual worker; she has six children and is shortly to be confined. She frankly admitted that she preferred working in the factory to housekeeping and the rearing of children, and that she returned to the factory as soon after confinement as possible. Mrs. M—— is employed in spinning, and her husband is in regular night work. She has had ten children, seven of whom have died; the remaining ones are aged respectively fifteen years, four years, and ten months, and she is to be confined again shortly. Her husband objects to her working, but she has just returned to the mill after an absence of eight years. In the majority of cases I have found that neglected, delicate children and dirty, ill-kept homes are the natural concomitants of the employment of married women."

Concerning the unemployment of the husband in relation to the employment in industry of the wife, the Lady Inspector says, "Much of the work formerly done by men is now done by their wives at a lower wage." Lower wages of men must therefore be enumerated with the other concomitants of the employment of wives in industry.

The United States Census Report, "Women at Work," published in 1907, shows an increase in the percentage of married women employed in American industry. The relation of this situation to infant mortality has been very distinctly traced by medical authorities in Great Britain. It is the consensus of British medical opinion that "any attempt to combine the offices of child-bearer and breadwinner in one person must, of necessity, result in feeble, bottle-fed babies and premature births." It has been pointed out, moreover, by a Medical Officer of Health in an English factory town that "the damage done cannot entirely be measured by mortality figures, for these take no account of the impaired vitality of the infants who manage to survive to swell the ranks of the degenerate."

Categorically stated, then, as determined by scientific investi-

gation, these evils are associated with the employment in industry of married women—the slaughter of infants, degeneracy of children, neglect of children and of the home, lower wages, unemployment of men. None of the sorrow, pain, privation, degradation, resulting from these evils do the women themselves escape by their occupation in industry, yet, in ever-increasing numbers, wives abandon work in the home for wage-earning. Why is it? What impels them, against the will of their husbands, when no actual necessity exists, to seek work in shop and factory at any price rather than stay at home? Is not the reason this:

Wives to-day realize that the situation of their work in the home is more intolerable than the worst possible consequences of their wage-earning.

Industry, at least, admits the fact of the woman's individual existence, of her individual contribution to production, of her individual right to live as well as to labor, to have her labor measured, the burden of it weighed, the product of it known, valued, priced, and paid. In the home, on the contrary, her labor is lost to sight; none of the evils of her situation there are known, her work there is not so much as credited with being work; during not one moment of the day, week in and week out, year in and year out, can she extricate consciousness from the overwhelming burden of toil, the prostrating sense of failure, the wastage of life—her own, her children's, her family's life—which her work imposes upon her. It seems perfectly reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the increasing demand of married women for occupation in industry is, *au fond*, a revolt of wives against the intolerable conditions of their occupation in the home.

In the United States other indications appear marking this revolt among wives. These are, in particular among women of the well-to-do class, the increasing number of divorces and the increasing tendency to race suicide. It is perfectly idle to preach against these evils, and tell women, as some good, foolish men do, that woman's place is in the home; that intermittent marriages and childless marriages are not pleasing in the sight of Heaven; that the family is the corner-stone of the Nation, and therefore women should seek to make the family permanent and numerous, and love to work at home. The American woman cannot reason-

ably consider any duty to the family which does not properly provide for the fulfillment of her duty to herself. Before the good of the family can be urged upon her as a motive for doing or not doing, it must be shown that the family will be good to her. Heaven may wait to welcome her into glory when, as a wife and mother in the home, she shall have worked herself to death; but the education she has received and the ideals she has been taught to revere compel her, while working in the hope of heaven, to have some hope of life, liberty, happiness, and fair wages to recompense her here below. American women are bound to crowd into men's work, and to regard matrimony as an experiment and maternity as unprofitable, until the work done by wives is recognized as being work—work which has value; work which, as it is well or ill done, as it is well or ill conditioned, adds to or subtracts from the wealth of the Nation. The work done by wives in the home is the last determining factor of the problem of the cost of living, and is also the first determining factor of the cost of all production. Labor itself—the numerical strength of the workers of the Nation and their efficiency—depends in the beginning upon the industrial situation of wives. The question demanding investigation is not, Are wives supported by their husbands? but, How far are husbands—men in general—supported by the work of wives?

Carroll D. Wright said once, "Some notion of the economic importance of the labor which wives do in the home is to be had by considering what would be the consequences to general industry if these women were "to walk out." If all the women working without wages in our homes were suddenly to quit cooking, cleaning, sewing, taking care of babies, and planning to make ends meet, it would mean nothing less than a cessation of general industry. If one thinks of this situation as continuing indefinitely and including a strike against maternity, it would mean the collapse of our industrial empire and the end of the Nation."

Might it not be worth while for the Congress of the United States to vote an appropriation for an investigation of the work of wives? Remember Lysistrata!

Survey, 23: 383-6. December 18, 1909.

Shirtwaist Makers' Strike. Constance D. Leupp.

"We'd rather starve quick than starve slow." Such is the battle cry of the 30,000 striking shirtwaist makers (mostly girls) who since November 22 have made Clinton Hall the busiest and most interesting spot in New York city.

Since the union movement began among women, nothing so significant as this general strike has happened, and for generalship, obedience and good conduct under circumstances which would break a less determined and courageous host, these Jewish, Italian and American girls from the East Side can give points to trades practiced in striking.

The members of the trade in New York are estimated at 40,000; between 30,000 and 35,000 have joined the Ladies' Shirtwaist Makers' Union. Already 18,000 girls are again at their machines on their own terms, 236 firms having taken them back into closed shops. It is the smaller shops that have settled. The bitterest part of the fight is still ahead.

The history of the trouble has not yet been fairly given to the public. A few facts about the wholesale trade of machine shirtwaist making will make the whole story more comprehensible.

A Manhattan Trade School secretary who has much experience in placing girls in different trades, says that she likes to have her girls go into shirtwaist making because it has as great possibilities—many of them as yet unfulfilled—as any other industry open to women in New York. A fast operator at piece-work, or even working by the day in a good shop, can earn \$16 or more a week. The minimum piece-wage for strip tucking, for instance, is ten cents a hundred yards. Twelve cents is paid in many shops, and fifteen cents is probably what the strikers claim in most cases. A good operator can average 2,000 yards a day. A girl who averaged this at the Triangle Waist Company's shop where the strike began.—says that her wages were \$7 a week in the busy season and \$6 in slack time, while a sub-contractor

admits that he averaged \$28 to \$30 a week and paid \$4 to \$10 to his girls.

Sub-contracting is a system whereby the firm never makes any dealing directly with the operators. The sub-contractor undertakes to produce a definite amount of work for a definite price, and makes what bargains he sees fit with his girls. He can slave-drive and underpay as he pleases, and even if his intentions are of the best, he represents an extra profit, the burden of which falls on the operator rather than on the consumer.

Curiously enough, it was a sub-contractor who started the strike. Some eighteen months ago at the Triangle shop on Washington place (Harris and Blank's) this man because he "was sick of slave-driving" protested to the manager, saying he wanted to go and take his girls with him. He was not allowed to speak to the girls after he had expressed himself, but was told to report to the cashier for his pay. Fearful of a slugging on the way up in the elevator, he asked to have someone go with him, and was not only refused, but set upon and dragged out of the shop—the original "assault." As he was dragged along he shouted, "Will you stay at your machines and see a fellow worker treated this way?" And impulsively 400 operators dropped their work and walked out.

The union at that time numbered only about 500 members and the trade was in no way organized; so when Secretary Schindler suggested conciliatory methods, and the firm seemed willing to treat, it was not difficult to fill the shop again. The managers formed a society of the more intelligent workers, and with its members in council, terms were hit upon. "The society and a job or the union and no job" was the demand of the firm. The society having a membership limited to one hundred, there were five non-members to one member. By degrees it was discovered that the members got most of its benefits, and in frightened twos and threes the girls began to drift down to union headquarters and ask for help in organizing. Discontent grew even among the members, so that when last September a meeting was held at Clinton Hall to discuss the

situation, all but seven members of the society were asking for help from the union. Someone reported the meeting to the firm, and the next day, Friday, September 24, the employers called the girls together and expostulated with them more in sorrow than in anger. Terms were once more arranged between a delegation of operators and the firm, and the next day everyone went back to work as usual. On Monday, however, when the girls reported for work the shop was found closed, and that night the East Side papers reported that the Triangle Waist Company had shut down for an indefinite time. The next, however, came the notice that at "the earnest solicitation of the members of the society," it was once more open. No union girls were taken back, so within thirty-six hours, through the agency of the society whose dwindling membership then numbered exactly seven—all of them sisters, cousins and aunts of the members of the firm—the strike became a lockout.

This was the situation with the Triangle company on the first of October. Meanwhile there was a local strike on at Leiserson's and the trade at large, seething with discontent, needed no further encouragement to go out *en masse*. Probably the only consideration that had held them in check before was the fear on the part of the Jewish girls—the larger part of the trade—that the Italians would "scab." Employers had made clever use of the race and religious antagonism to keep the girls from uniting.

The resolution for a general strike was taken at mass meetings held November 22. At Cooper Union Mr. Gompers spoke, and a procession of speakers, mostly Yiddish, for two hours implored their attentive audience to go about the thing soberly and with due consideration; but, if they decided to strike, to stand by their colors and be loyal to the union. The dramatic climax of the evening was reached when Clara Lemlich, a striker from Leiserson's who had been assaulted when picketing, made her way to the platform, begged a moment from the chairman, and after an impromptu Philippic in Yiddish, eloquent even to American ears, put the motion

for a general strike and was unanimously endorsed. The chairman then cried, "Do you mean faith? Will you take the old Jewish oath?" And up came 2,000 right hands with the prayer: "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither and drop off at the wrist from the arm I now raise."

Several weeks before this eventful night, the arresting of pickets had begun, and members of the Women's Trade Union League had begun to take a hand. Picketing as practiced by these strikers consists in sentry duty performed by union members before the doors of a shop at opening and closing hours, telling the "scabs" that a strike is on—among the newly arrived foreigners there are many who do not know this—and asking them to come to union headquarters and learn about it. When peaceably practiced, picketing has for years been upheld by the New York courts as legal. The girls, however, have been arrested literally by the dozen, taken to court and fined sometimes as high as \$10 each, without even a hearing.

There has been considerable difference in the way various members of the bench have handled the cases. Detective and neighborhood thugs have threatened the pickets steadily, by profanity and even by blows which the police have somehow failed to see, while no smallest gesticulation of a picket has escaped their notice or failed to be construed as an assault. For weeks the girls have endured what they believed to be injustice at the hands of the officers of law and order, and if at times recently they have become aggressive, it is hardly to be wondered at. One member of the Women's Trade Union League who with three other witnesses saw a scab assault a picket, applied to a magistrate for a warrant for the girl's arrest. She reports receiving this astonishing response from the bench: "You have no right to picket; you have no right to be on Washington place. Every time you go down there you will get what is coming to you and I shall not interfere. No, I'll give you no warrant."

The girls are showing an unusual pluck and unity of spirit. It is a unique spectacle anywhere to see Jews, Italians and

Americans working shoulder to shoulder for a common cause. The management at headquarters is excellent. Mr. Baroff with an office and clerical force adapted to a membership of 500 has handled the affairs of 30,000.

Headquarters have been opened for the Italians and Americans gather at the Women's Trade Union League. Strike benefits are paid only to those who ask for them. A few of the strikers are married women; a small number are men, but the overwhelming majority are girls under twenty-five. All fines are being paid by the union. On the evening of December 4 alone, these amounted to \$137, representing twenty-six arrests for technical assaults and twenty-three fines.

The most spectacular features of the whole event have been the visit of several thousand workers to the mayor to ask for fair play from the police, and Mrs. Belmont's woman suffrage meeting in the Hippodrome on December 5. When called upon by the delegation the mayor promised fair play but when invited by Mrs. Belmont two days later to attend her meeting, he stated his inability to be present and his lack of interest.

These are the demands in which the mayor has no interest:

(1) A fifty-two hour week and not more than two hour's overtime on any one day. (The law allows sixty hours a week and not more than three days a week overtime.)

(2) The closed shop (*i. e.*, no non-union labor employed).

(3) Notice of slack work in advance, if possible, or at least promptly on arrival in the morning.

(4) In slack season to keep all hands on part time rather than a few operators on full time, so far as possible.

(5) All wages to be paid directly by the firm (*i. e.*, the abolition of the sub-contractor system).

(6) A wage scale to be adjusted individually for each shop, but the terms to be determined definitely in advance for all forms of work.

The strikers' demands throw much light on conditions that have previously prevailed in the shops. At the Triangle shop, for instance, in rush seasons the girls worked until eight or

nine o'clock at night with no time off for supper; while in slack season not infrequently a girl reported for work at the usual time and sat idle all the morning, to be told at noon that she was not needed.

It is impossible to say how much longer the strike will last and on just what terms it will end. Already the New England cotton mills are feeling the dearth of orders from the city in whose shops and factories one-half the ready made clothing of the country is made. So rapidly are the manufacturers giving in, however, that it is difficult to believe the girls will not win the majority odds in the end. It is safe to prophesy that if they arbitrate they may compromise on every other point, but not on the main most vital issue of the whole struggle—the closed shop.

It is easy to say that the closed shop demand is an unjust one, but in a sweated industry where a union exists it is the best defense of the manufacturer as well as of the worker. If our shirtwaists are going to be made on fair terms, either the profit to the manufacturer must be reduced, or prices must go up. So long as there are manufacturers in the trade who employ sweated labor, they can always underbid union shops. On the other hand, employers with the best intentions, who use both scab and union labor, will in a rush season make demands to which union members cannot accede and thus by degrees they must be driven out of the mixed shop.

But through and about all this discussion of union and scab labor, looms a larger even more important problem—that of the constitutional right of free speech. The conduct of the police officers and magistrates in their seeming conspiracy of curtailing the liberty of American citizens, is one that must attract the attention of even those who are not interested in industrial disputes.

There should be at least some small degree of unanimity between the judiciary and the Police Department. If the police commissioner states that the opportunity is given the pickets to do their work in a legal and orderly way at the same

time that a magistrate says they have no "right" to picket, it is impossible for the strikers or for their supporters to know what is expected of them.

Probably public sympathy has been more stirred by the unfair treatment of women pickets than the cause of the strikers could ever of itself have aroused, so the martyrdom of the girls who have been abused, thumped and thrown into the gutter has not been in vain.

Survey. 24: 60-4. April 2, 1910.

Telephone Girl. Graham Taylor.

The telephone girl is getting some share of public attention of recent years, and properly so. Besides magazine articles containing more or less original matter, the public have three official sources of very complete information on the subject.

First, the report of the Royal Commission of Canada on the strike of telephone operators in Toronto; secondly, the report of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission on complaints made by citizens of Milwaukee against the alleged inefficient service of the telephone company; last, the report of Commissioner Charles P. Neill of the Bureau of Labor, made to the United States Senate.

Each one of these reports goes into considerable detail as to the actual work of the telephone girl. The Canadian commission had to do with a single city at the time of a strike, and the Wisconsin report is confined to conditions in Milwaukee and was directed to a special grievance. The report of the Bureau of Labor has the advantage of covering a wide scope and dealing with the whole question rather than a special phase of it. In his letter of transmittal, Commissioner Neill states that the planning and conduct of the investigation in the field, and the writing of the text of the report were intrusted to Ethelbert Stewart, the tabulating of the statistics having been done by Dr. C. E. Baldwin.

The report has been delivered to the Senate, but will not be ready for public distribution for several weeks. The Survey is able to give here a very full review of the conclusions:

Twenty-seven telephone companies, operating in twenty-six states, furnished data for the report; which is specific for 32 cities of over 25,000 population and for 123 smaller cities and towns. Pay-roll cards were secured for 39,589 employes, distributed through 101 different occupations. The principal interest however centers on the 17,210 female operators working at the switchboards, and with these the bulk of the 300-page report concerns itself.

Generally speaking, the telephone exchanges investigated were well housed; ample in the space occupied, well lighted and fairly well ventilated. Of the 178 operating rooms from which reports were received, 23 were on the first or ground floor, 55 were on the second, 33 on the third, 20 on the fourth, 11 on the fifth, 14 on the sixth, 9 on the seventh, 6 on the eighth, and 3 on the ninth floor of the building occupied. This becomes important further on when the use of elevators by operators is considered.

Of the 73 exchanges reported, it was found that 33 which were above the first floor were not provided with elevators for employes. Of these exchanges, 15 were on the second floor, requiring the climbing of one flight of stairs; 10 on the third floor, requiring the climbing of two flights of stairs, and 6 on the fourth floor, requiring the climbing of three flights of stairs; 1, part on second and fourth floors; and 1, part on third and fourth floors. The maximum number of operators required to climb one flight of stairs was 60; two flights, 108; and three flights, 750. The principal complaint of operators related to elevators; over two-thirds of the complaints were on this subject. Some complained of no elevators in the buildings, while others that the elevators did not run at the hours when they must come and go to their work.

Testing Capacity for The Work.

Many companies have somewhat imposing medical or physical examinations of applicants. None employs short girls—they want girls who can reach. The report says: "Girls under five

feet in height are not accepted because of their inability to reach to the top of the switchboard or a sufficient distance sideways from their position."

Even in cities without regular physical examination an examination is sometimes made without the applicant's knowledge. For instance, in one city the applicants are interviewed by a young woman who, by comparing the level of their eyes with her own, can tell within a fraction of an inch the height of the girl with whom she is talking. Experts in other lines interviewed the applicants and ascertained their exact physical condition. In most places, however, a set physical examination is required.

It may be interesting to note the relation between the total number of applications received and the number not accepted, together with the various reasons for rejection, as shown in the following statement from one of our largest cities. The total number of applications received was 6,152. Of these 2,229 were not accepted for the following reasons:

Too small	544
Too old	53
Too young	436
Physical defects	43
Jewish—refused to work holidays	11
Colored	7
Accent	90
Refused vaccination	6
Education	519
Hearing	1
Sight	151
Voice	82
Appearance	169
Refused night work	7
Not willing to wait	36
Miscellaneous	74

The succeeding medical examination eliminates over nine per cent more.

The educational requirements demanded by the companies vary, but in most cities to have passed the sixth or seventh grade in grammar school is sufficient. Boston tries to get high school girls but does not always succeed.

Having passed all these examinations the girls are put into training schools in all principal cities.

The report says: "This thorough weeding out of applicants, first by the application bureau, secondly by the physical and

medical tests, and thirdly, by the final examinations upon the close of the school training, insures for the companies a very excellent class of young women finally accepted, and would, if the tenure of service could by any method be increased, give the public a splendid guarantee of efficient service."

Character of The Work.

A chapter on the Character and Severity of the Work, gives a minute description of the work of a telephone girl.

The height of the switchboard, and the width of the section, or in other words, the length of the upward reach and the distance of the side reach, together with the "load" or number of calls a girl must answer in a given time, constitute the physical elements of strain that make up the conditions of severity of the work. Accepting 36 inches as the maximum of comfortable side-reach, 122 exchanges reported a side-reach in excess of this, 39 of these report between 36 and 37 inches, 11 between 37 and 38 inches, 10 between 43 and 44 inches, while one reports a side-reach of between 50 and 51 inches. Two hundred and twenty-five calls an hour are given as the "breaking point" or limit of a girl's power to give the public efficient service and not injure herself. A table shows the places where this load is exceeded. The statement is made that from the standpoint of efficiency of service to the public, too light a "load" is as bad as too high a one. The operator who has not enough to do to keep her busy does not attend to what she has.

Wage rates and overtime work are extensively considered, especially wages for women. The total for all Bell Companies shows 16,258 women operators at an average monthly wage of \$30.91. The largest number of operators, 4,562, fall in the \$30 to \$35 class, and these constitute 28.06 per cent of the 16,258 female operators working for Bell Companies from whom pay roll cards were received. Of 513 female operators reported by the American Telegraph and Telephone Company exchanges, 123, or 23.08 per cent, fall in the \$25 to \$30 group, the largest number falling in any one group; while 271 operators out of the 568 returns from independent companies fall within the same group, and these constitute 27.71 per cent of that total.

The lowest average for Bell Companies is naturally found in some of the groups of towns under 5,000 population, where in one case 346 operators average \$18.21 on a full time basis; 212 operators in towns between 5,000 and 15,000 population have an average monthly wage of \$19.92.

Taking the larger cities, the highest average monthly rate is found in New York city, where 2,825 operators average \$36.96; Chicago, \$31.69; St. Louis, \$29.44; and Baltimore, \$27.70. But Pacific Coast cities are higher: San Francisco, \$35.84; Los Angeles, \$35.09; Seattle, \$35; Portland, \$34.74. The lowest average for a single considerable city in the Bell system is in Nashville, Tenn., where 175 operators have an average rate of \$22.40. The average rates in southern cities range rather lower than elsewhere. This is the explanation of the low average for independent companies reporting, as most of the returns received were from southern cities located in a low wage belt. The 568 wage returns from three independent companies show an average monthly rate of \$24.38, the lowest being Louisville, \$19.07; the highest Kansas City, Mo., \$26.

The returns from the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, or long distance exchanges, show 513 operators with a general average monthly wage rate of \$34.35. Here the lowest average rate is found in Kansas City, \$30; the highest is New York, \$38.53.

A table giving per cent of operators who worked overtime shows that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, or in other words the "long distance" exchanges, have no overtime. The Bell Company has practically none in New York, while in Chicago 27.68 per cent of the operators had overtime work; in New Orleans, 98.4 per cent; Cleveland, 88.2 per cent; Cincinnati, 42.4 per cent; Louisville, 86.5 per cent; Boston, 1.54 per cent. Commissioner Neill suggests that if overtime can be practically eliminated in some of the most important cities, the adoption of their methods might reduce it to a minimum in all.

A chapter on Welfare Work and care for health of employes, finds a very wide-spread, intelligent effort on the part of the companies to look after the comfort and well-being of telephone girls. A strong feeling of loyalty to the companies and of en-

thusiasm for the work, is found among the women in the business, and this adds much to the efficiency of the service.

Average Service, Three Years.

An important element in determining the efficiency of service is the length of service of an operator; or in other words, the average length of service in the occupation. Broadly speaking, this is an element which the companies cannot altogether control, though, so far as the questions of wages, age at beginning work, opportunities for promotion, and sympathetic treatment of employes enter into the problem, the answer lies with the companies. Other elements, especially marriage, are beyond the influence of the companies.

The general experience of telephone companies is an average life at the switchboard of about three years. One company, by reducing the age at which it would employ girls from seventeen to fifteen years, increased the average length of service of its operators from eighteen months to two and a half years, and generally speaking the younger the girls are when they begin the longer they stay at the business. The average length of service of all operators is reported by Dallas, Texas, as two years and five months; average length of service for all operators is reported as seventeen months in Washington, D. C., and eighteen months in Baltimore.

It must be borne in mind that numbers of night and evening operators pass into the day force rather than out of the service, while those dropping out of the day force drop out of the service altogether, only a comparatively few going into supervisory groups.

In the matter of promotion in the sense of increased salary, most companies have more or less adhered to automatic systems of granting increases every six months until the maximum is reached. Failure to adhere strictly to this rule, when it is a tacit part of the terms of agreement under which the operator enters the company's employ, was found to be a serious source of complaint, and most fruitful of resignation. Promotions from the ranks of operators to the supervisory force are not infrequent and may fairly be hoped for by the older women.

In any business expanding so rapidly as is the telephone, the number of new employees taken on, not to replace others who have resigned or been dismissed but to increase the operating force, renders the consideration of average time of employment or length of service liable to mislead, or at least suggest wrong deductions and conclusions if unaccompanied with proper precautions.

Moreover, efficiency of service is not increased perceptibly after a certain length of experience has been reached. After eight or ten months' service, it is claimed that the reasonably bright operator is as efficient as she will ever be at switchboard work.

Strikes and Operators' Unions.

Telephone operators' strikes have been remarkably rare, and generally very short. During the investigation, records of less than a dozen strikes were discovered, and these were minor matters which in no case lasted more than a week.

Practically no organization exists among operators. Only five local federal unions of telephone operators are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. None of these is large or located in a city of considerable size. One or two of these when visited seemed to be more like social clubs than trade unions. In all cases their relations with local managers were entirely friendly. In the large cities the attitude of the local managers, and of the companies as a whole, is distinctly antagonistic toward labor organizations among operators. It was pointed out that with the almost universal fact of short experience for a vast majority of the operators, any organization among them would be likely to be in the control of young girls inexperienced in any kind of industrial affairs with only three or four months' experience in the telephone business. Managers who were most apprehensive of the danger from trade unions among operators insisted that their feelings and opinions were not based upon general objections to trade-unionism itself, and that they would not object to unions if in the future the telephone business got to a point where the mass of its operators were women of mature years, who had been for a reasonable time in the company's employ.

United States Supreme Court.

Decision in the Case of *Curt Miller vs. The State of Oregon.*

It is undoubtedly true, as more than once declared by this court, that the general right to contract in relation to one's business is part of the liberty of the individual, protected by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution; yet it is equally well settled that this liberty is not absolute and extending to all contracts, and that a State may, without conflicting with the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, restrict in many respects the individual's power of contract. Without stopping to discuss at length the extent to which a State may act in this respect, we refer to the following cases in which the question has been considered: *Allgeyer v. Louisiana*, 165 U. S. 578; *Holден v. Hardy*, 169 U. S. 366; *Lochner v. New York*, *supra*.

That woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence is obvious. This is especially true when the burdens of motherhood are upon her. Even when they are not, by abundant testimony of the medical fraternity continuance for a long time on her feet at work, repeating this from day to day, tends to injurious effects upon the body, and as healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of woman becomes an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race.

Still again, history discloses the fact that woman has always been dependent upon man. He established his control at the outset by superior physical strength, and this control in various forms, with diminishing intensity, has continued to the present. As minors, though not to the same extent, she has been looked upon in the courts as needing especial care that her rights may be preserved. Education was long denied her, and while now the doors of the school-room are opened and her opportunities for acquiring knowledge are great, yet even with that and the consequent increase of

capacity for business affairs it is still true that in the struggle for subsistence she is not an equal competitor with her brother. Though limitations upon personal and contractual rights may be removed by legislation, there is that in her disposition and habits of life which will operate against a full assertion of those rights. She will still be where some legislation to protect her seems necessary to secure a real equality of rights. Doubtless there are individual exceptions, and there are many respects in which she has an advantage over him; but looking at it from the viewpoint of the effort to maintain an independent position in life, she is not upon an equality. Differentiated by these matters from the other sex, she is properly placed in a class by herself, and legislation designed for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men and could not be sustained. It is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that she still looks to her brother and depends upon him. Even though all restrictions on political, personal, and contractual rights were taken away, and she stood, so far as statutes are concerned, upon an absolutely equal plane with him, it would still be true that he is so constituted that she will rest upon and look to him for protection; that her physical structure and a proper discharge of her maternal functions—having in view not merely her own health, but the well-being of the race—justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man. The limitations which this statute places upon her contractual powers, upon her right to agree with her employer as to the time she shall labor, are not imposed solely for her benefit, but also largely for the benefit of all. Many words cannot make this plainer. The two sexes differ in structure of body, in the functions to be performed by each, in the amount of physical strength, in the capacity for long-continued labor, particularly when done standing, the influence of vigorous health upon the future well-being of the race, the self-reliance which enables one to assert full rights, and in the capacity to maintain the struggle for subsistence. This difference justifies a difference in legislation

and upholds that which is designed to compensate for some of the burdens which rest upon her.

We have not referred in this discussion to the denial of the elective franchise in the State of Oregon, for while that may disclose a lack of political equality in all things with her brother, that is not of itself decisive. The reason runs deeper, and rests in the inherent difference between the two sexes, and in the different functions in life which they perform.

For these reasons, and without questioning in any respect the decision in *Lochner v. New York*, we are of the opinion that it cannot be adjudged that the act in question is in conflict with the Federal Constitution, so far as it respects the work of a female in a laundry, and the judgment of the Supreme Court of Oregon is

Affirmed.

Westminster Review. 171: 383-95. April, 1909.

Women's Industries, Past and Present. Frances Swiney.

As ruthlessly as the woman had been thrust back into the home (rendered in truth a prison), deprived of status, personality and rights, even the right of choice in the labour market, so she was now, as ruthlessly, dragged out of her home, and thrown into the whirl of an economic competition, that no longer dealt with the muscles and brains of the competitors, but with their essential necessities, their bodies, their lives and their souls. The industries practically became the same for men and women, but women were from the first placed at a disadvantage in point of wage and privilege. It may be argued, that there was soon remedial legislation. True; the Factory Acts were passed. Women and children were, at least in England, forbidden to work beyond certain hours and before a certain age limit. State inspection of factories compelled employers to regard perfunctory sanitary rules. But improvement in environment did not mean a higher rate of wage. On the contrary, in proportion, as the wages of

men increased through the political pressure of a widened male electorate, and the artisan, the agricultural labourer, the small house-owner and the lodger became enfranchised, and thus had a direct voice in urging on reforms, so the average wages of women fell, for women remained the only portion of the population that could be mercilessly exploited without the fear of political reprisals. If men refused to work for a lower wage, there were always thousands of defenceless, voiceless women ready to take their places, and be thankful for a mere pittance to do the same task. The short-sighted injustice that denied to the working woman political rights was directly the most powerful weapon held in the hands of the employers with which to strike the male workers into economic subjection. Take, for example, America. I quote from an expert authority: "Woman's labour, being so much cheaper than man's labour, replaces the latter in thousands of instances, and frequently leaves to the men no other choice but to abandon the particular branch of employment or be satisfied with smaller wages."

In the textile industries in this country and in America, the number of women workers far exceed that of the men. In the cotton mills of the Southern States, the children employed exceed the women. If babies at the breast could be made useful to the mill-owners they too would be sacrificed to the Moloch of gold.

And what is the state in this country of the woman-worker? I quote again from an expert: "When we turn to women we find that things are even worse. An unskilled woman's wage is about 10/- per week. In our recent enquiry in Birmingham it was found that wherever women replaced men the former always received a much lower wage and one that was not proportionate to the skill or intelligence required by the work, but approximated to a certain fixed level—about 10/- to 12/- per week, the majority of women getting the lower amount."

Now this is the rate of wage in what may be called the higher standard of labour, i. e., in the factories themselves. But what of the Home Industries, the euphemistic title under

which the horrors of the sweating system are concealed? What do these pleasant home employments represent? "They stand for the hopeless lot of hundreds of thousands of women and children; for scanty pay, long hours of toil in insanitary dwellings, hunger and privation." I will give a few facts. First of all let this point be recognised in its full import. The cheapness and the unfailing supply of the human machines as represented in women has hindered the general introduction of machinery. This is the case in the carding of hooks and eyes. Two women working together can make about 3/- each a week. 384 hooks and 384 eyes are linked together and stitched on a card for one penny wage, less than the upkeep of a machine. The average earnings of 56 women, some of whom worked very long hours, were 3/3½ per week. In all cases the workers find their own needles and cotton. Flesh and blood here requires less outlay on the part of the employer than steel, iron, steam and electricity.

Shirt finishers can earn from 1d. to 1½d. per hour, their wages having fallen considerably within the last few years, a woman only getting 5d. for what she used to get 2/- for.

In nail-making young men earn from 10/- to 12/- per week, while women and girls, for the same work and longer hours, seldom earn more than 5/- or 6/- a week, less than 1d. an hour. Forbidden as child's labour is in factories, it is of daily occurrence in the home, children as young as three or four being initiated into the various crafts as soon as they can hold the materials in their hands. "You must either make the children work or let them starve," say the mothers. And they speak the truth. Shame on our economic system, on our blatant hypocrisy, which prates upon "Woman and the home," upon "maternal duties," and "woman's sphere," and yet makes its wealth out of the exploited lives of thousands of mothers and their children in the fetid dens that are termed "homes"!

Now it may be argued that competition being so severe, it would be better to restrict the number of the competitors by curtailing women's labour within certain limits, so that there would be no further danger of women taking possession at a

lower wage of a still wider industrial field. Especially is the married woman's choice of labour threatened with restrictive legislation. Man's ideas of justice are peculiar. A great deal of rhetoric and declamation is expended on the "Right to Work," "the righteousness of the demand" from the honest worker, "the inherent *moral* justice of the claim" for work, etc., but the cloven foot of sex-bias and sex egotism appears in the means advocated to attain the end. The right to work is regarded as the monopoly and prerogative of *men only*, and the best remedy for unemployed men is the restriction of the women's industries. Women are no longer to have choice of labour. They are to be confined and cribbed by limitation, and the married woman is once more to be barred and locked within her home as the unpaid slave and sexual drudge. "Woman's sphere is the home," is the shibboleth of these sophists, when women can gain for themselves anything out of the home in competition with men.

Yet no application of the same principle is advanced when women ask: "Why are men not restricted when they encroach on women's employments?" Why are not men-cooks abolished? men-tailors for women's clothes done away with, and the thousands of male shop assistants, selling women's articles of dress and reels of cotton, and measuring out laces and ribbons? Why are not these men relegated to strictly masculine avocations?

But, in truth, the proposed restriction of women's labour is indeed the counsel of despair! To the dire effects of a previous injustice and a system of self-interest that almost seem irreparable, would be added another iniquitous act, which would only accentuate the bitterness and antagonism already existing. The clock cannot be set back. Woman, as a human being, has the right to choose her field of labour. She has equal right with man in the right to work in any employment. Woman has come out of her home to work; woman has to work within her home so as to live; and the real remedy lies in making the economic conditions under which she must live and work as just and equal as possible. Starving the married woman, the mother in the home, is not the panacea for an

overstocked labour market, and an increasing race degeneracy. Closing the factories to married women will not tend to further morality or induce early marriages among young and healthy women.

On the contrary, restriction on the legitimate rights of women will, as it has ever done, make confusion worse confounded. In France the same question is being debated over a Bill limiting dressmakers' work to certain hours, of which if passed, the immediate result will be the employment of *men-workers*, on whose work there is no restriction, and the casting of hundreds of women on the streets. Truly a wise, moral, and beneficent act of male legislation!

Hence I place women's political enfranchisement as the first and foremost remedy. And why? Because no law affecting women's interests, regulating their work, and controlling their economic conditions, could then be passed without their sanction and concurrence. Women are the best judges of remedial measures touching their own lives, homes, and industries.

We find that in those countries where women are electors, legislation dealing with all these evils from which we suffer, has followed upon the women's votes. For instance, in Australia and in New Zealand, where the political enfranchisement of women has been established for fifteen years, there are the most rigid regulations against sweating, and dealing directly with domestic work shops, with home industries, and child-labour.

There are State Wages Boards in New Zealand, by which a minimum rate of wages is fixed. There is also compulsory arbitration to settle trade disputes and fix wages and hours. Female type-setters are now paid on the same scale as men, and in boot and clothes' factories women have gained an increase of wages estimated at 15 per cent. In Victoria since women had the Federal vote, a good proportion of the factory girls are receiving more than the minimum wage of 20/- a week. In the Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for Victoria, he says: "It will thus be seen that the average wage paid for every man was 8/5, and to every woman 2/3, per week, above the minimum wage"; and, he adds, "these results have been

achieved without loss or injury to the trade of the State." Women have now won full electoral power in the Victorian State Legislature.

In the four States of America, where equal suffrage prevails, the same reforms have been achieved. In all official appointments under the State women are paid the same as men. The education laws, the State supervision of children, the factory regulations, the sanitary laws, and the criminal laws, have reached the standard of highest efficiency as yet gained by any civilised country, with the exception of New Zealand. In Finland, and in Norway, since women have been politically enfranchised, their rate of wage and official salary has been raised.

As long as there is a serviceable, workable portion of the people that can be exploited by capital, as powerless to find political redress, so long will the other portion of the nation suffer in consequence. The drag on the wheel does not affect only the one wheel, it stops the impetus forward of the whole conveyance. While one-half of the nation is voiceless and unrepresented at the polls, so long will the inequalities of wealth and poverty be the effects of injustice and inequality of opportunities between men and women. Men have nothing to fear by being just; they have everything to fear by remaining unjust, for, as I have shown, the dire harvest of unjust acts accumulates generation upon generation. Truly, the sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children. Capital will always find out the weak spot in the labour-market that can be exploited with impunity. Labour can never successfully oppose the greed of capital until it presents an unbroken front of consolidated equality in its demands. If it openly, as it often does, glories in its deepest sore, its most hideous cancer, in its unjust attitude towards woman's work, permitting women-workers to receive less for equal work than men, then, that very evil is intensified in times of stress and pressure, when the large firm or the small master, falls back upon the low-paid labour of the sweated woman and discounts the higher paid wage of the man. With equal political rights with men, the women-workers would have the same power with their brothers, in enforcing better terms, better conditions, better co-operative methods.

At the present day, here in this Christian England, sanctimoniously prating of liberty, equality, and justice, of brotherhood and co-operation, the woman-worker is below the bottom dog. For the bottom-dog is, after all, considered flesh and blood of human kind; the bottom-dog can perchance rise to the full rights of citizenship; whatever may be his destitution, he is still in the eyes of the English law "a person." But the unrepresented woman is below the nether mill-stone of extortionate commercialism, grinding its profits out of the cheapest instruments.

The whole history of economics teaches us that the danger spot, the insidious cancer in every community, is the irresponsible, the unrepresented quota, the floating residuum, whose force is unrecognised because it is unbalanced and chaotic. This vast body of politically non-existent women makes possible to-day all the horrors of the sweating dens, all the vast over-production of every kind of manufactured article, of cheap industrial products. It may be retorted that men are sweated also. Naturally they are, and will be, until women are politically free, and have at their back the power of the vote, so as to direct labour legislation, so as to fight on constitutional lines for fairer, better, and juster conditions, so as to insist on the human right of equal pay for equal work. So long as labour allows one-half of the working classes to work for less wage than the other half, so long as capital can safely exploit one portion of the community and pit it against the other portion, so long shall we have amongst us the problem of the unemployed, the problem of the sweating system, the problem of a degraded womanhood, a starving motherhood, and a degenerate manhood. It is useless for the male voter to threaten political reprisals while he is handicapped by the dead weight of an unrepresented, voteless, destitute, and famishing body of women-workers. They form the Achilles heel of labour.

There is a great deal of talk in the air about the need of co-operation. Many fine schemes are discussed and advocated. But let us be logical. Co-operation means reciprocal relations, an equal give and take. Labour cannot co-operate with capital

if half of the workers are disorganized and at a disadvantage. The devil of greed will take the hindmost. The insistent presence of that defenseless portion of the community, that politically voiceless, submerged womanhood, spells the degradation and the insecurity of all the workers. It is useless to demand better economic conditions on the one part when a large proportion of the working classes have, through necessity, to submit to the worst.

We find that this economic axiom is at last being learnt by the principal labour organizations of civilised countries. In the United States the various State Labour parties are unanimous in placing Woman Suffrage as a front plank in their programme. In this country also the Trades' Unions are becoming more and more sympathetic with the Suffrage movement; and more especially the working-woman is demanding the vote as the only practical means of ameliorating her condition, and raising her status and standard in the wage market. The women of Great Britain are tired of being the national door-mat, trodden down by every industrial and political organisation. The iron has entered into their souls too long. They are beginning to understand that the same weapon that men have found so useful to improve their economic conditions, they will find equally efficacious in their case. The working woman's capital is the work of her hands. She needs to have it protected as much, if not more, than the wealthy woman's property is now secured to her by law.

The economic evils we deplore arise, in the main, from a fundamental injustice to the womanhood of the nation, to the women, who patiently and persistently have laboured and struggled, suffered and starved, under iniquitous and inhuman restrictions and arbitrary disabilities. We are in the midst of the battle for political freedom. The cause being a just one, is gaining ground day by day, spurred on, not only by a growing sense of equity, but also by necessity, that great mother of reform. In the book on "Women's Work and Wages," the low condition of the women-workers is put down to "their general subjection and lack of education, and their consequent narrow outlook." All factors that are remedial.

Women need not be subjected by unjust law, prejudice, and custom. They can be educated efficiently and practically, and their outlook can be widened by the nation regarding them as persons, as citizens, as responsible agents in the government of the country, with full equal rights and opportunities with the men whom they, in the supreme office of motherhood, have brought forth. When men and women work together on an equal footing, the sweating hydra will be slain, and not till then will women's industries be sweet and clean, pure and wholesome, and a benefit instead of a hindrance to the welfare of the State.

